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Charles Waldstein

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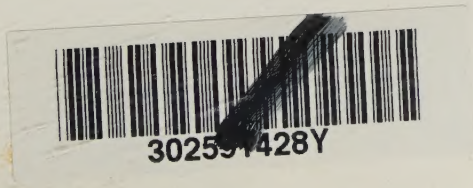

ESSAYS

ON THE

ART OF PHEIDIAS.

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ESSAYS

ON THE

ART OF PHEIDIAS.

BY

CHARLES WALDSTEIN, M.A.

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DEDICATED

TO

MY MOTHER

THE CONSTANT INSPIRER OF ALL MY WORK.

C. W.

PREFACE.

In Professor Michaelis's prefatory letter to *Der Parthenon* addressed to Alexander Conze, the author of this completest of all the works on Pheidias says: "Of course the investigation of the sculptures of the Parthenon is not completed in any point by the present work. On the contrary, the new and firmer foundation which I certainly believe myself to have laid will, it is to be hoped, incite others to complete the structure in its various parts." Professor Michaelis's work has, no doubt, left its stamp upon all subsequent efforts in this direction: be it in general treatises, such as Professor Petersen's *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, and the treatment of this period in the works on the general history of Greek art which have since appeared; or be it in the numerous memoirs on special points of Pheidiac art that are constantly adding information to the large previous collections of facts concerning this most important figure in the history of Greek art.

There are two obvious courses open to the writer on such a subject as the art of Pheidias. He may either give a continuous account of what is known of the life and works of the ancient artist in the form of a monograph or text-book, or he may increase the store of general information in a less direct manner by the separate publication of any new facts or views which he may acquire as he proceeds in his own studies. There is, however, a third method which I believe to have much in its favour. It consists in leading naturally to the ultimate result of a general and complete knowledge of the subject as a whole, but the fixing of this knowledge in the mind of the reader is effected by means of a continuous series

of separate investigations arranged in a methodical manner so as to enter into every special question and still to cover the whole ground of enquiry. This method has been followed in the present work and marks as well its aims as its origin and history.

The idea of the book actually originated with the discovery of the Louvre Plaque in January 1881; though the interpretation of the figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon as Thalassa and Gaia dates back to my student-days in 1873–4. This was followed by several other studies concerning the art of Pheidias which have modified the contents, and sometimes delayed the publication, of these Essays.

These discoveries no doubt vary in importance, and must be taken for what they are worth. But I believe that in every case I may claim for them the recognition due to first-hand research and to honesty of work and purpose.

Each of these separate discoveries, however, serves to specify one group of the works of Pheidias or one side of his artistic character, and all illustrate the chief methods of archaeological enquiry. Thus, after the first two essays, the rest serve to complete the whole range of the subject. The sculptures of the Parthenon are dealt with in five essays as they naturally follow one another in time and in the growth of the artist's own development: the third deals with the Metopes, the fourth with the Western Pediment, the fifth with the Eastern Pediment, the sixth with the Frieze, and the seventh with the subject of the Frieze. The eighth deals with the gold and ivory statues, while the ninth and last considers the influence of the work of Pheidias upon the Attic sculpture of the period immediately succeeding the age of Pericles.

These seven essays are preceded by two of a more general character, the one on the methods of the study of archaeology, the other on the spirit of the art of Pheidias. These are meant to prepare the reader for the ready appreciation of the investigations following them. Since the first essay was written the conditions concerning the study of

archaeology in this country have greatly improved. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies has done much towards spreading the general interest in archaeological research and in its proper realisation. The introduction of classical archaeology into the higher part of the final classical examination in this university has gone far to create a real school of classical archaeology which may now be considered to be established; and, finally, the creation of the Museum of Classical Archaeology as a branch of the Fitzwilliam Museum has provided the *apparatus*, the need of which was so strongly felt. The University of Oxford and University College, London, have recently created separate chairs for this study, and other universities are directing their attention to it.

Beyond the information concerning the art of Pheidias, I venture to hope that there may be found in this book some elements of general and lasting utility in the treatment of Greek art other than the art of Pheidias, as well as in the treatment of the general principles and theory of art. To make this side of the book more complete, four articles have, in the Appendix, been reprinted from previous publications. Nos. I. and IV. have, by kind consent, been reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, No. II. from the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, No. III. from the *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*.

In looking back upon the obligations incurred in the writing of a book, most authors must feel how much they owe to the more or less direct assistance of others. As the acquisition of knowledge is continuous, so is the incurring of obligations to others constant. I can but look back with gratitude upon the kindness shown me in my student days by my teacher in archaeology, the late Prof. K. B. Stark, of Heidelberg, and after that to the advantages derived from the attendance at Prof. Overbeck's classes and lectures at Leipzig. To Prof. Brunn, of Munich, I am particularly indebted for the stimulus and encouragement as well as much valuable information he has tendered me for some years past.

As regards direct assistance in the production of this book, I hope that definite acknowledgements will be found in their place. But I must thank the authorities of the various museums, especially of the Museum of the Louvre, the British Museum, the Royal Museum of Copenhagen, and the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, for much generous aid in the prosecution of my enquiries. Beyond all, however, in this way, my heartiest thanks are due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, who have generously undertaken the whole cost and responsibility of publishing the book. Mrs Lucy M. Mitchell has kindly consented to allow me the use of some wood-cuts illustrating her articles in the Century Magazine. I must also thank Dr Henry Jackson, Fellow and Praelector of Trinity College, Cambridge, for looking over the proof-sheets of the first two essays and for making useful suggestions.

But, finally, I must here record my sense of deepest obligation to Mr Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian and Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who has read the proofs and made most valuable suggestions and corrections throughout, so that I feel that a great part of any merit the book may have is to a large extent due to his counsel. This is work of the same nature as that to which a great part of his life has been devoted, so that the fruits of his learning and industry are disseminated widely through the writings of many other men. But in view of the encouragement and moral support which he has bestowed upon me in all phases of my University work, as well as for the loving kindness and friendship which he has shown me for the past five years, I am proud to think that I have an altogether exceptional claim to express my gratitude.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge.
July 24, 1885.

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ESSAY I.

THE PROVINCE, AIM, AND METHODS OF THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

Ταύτῃ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διαιρῶ, χωρὶς μὲν οὓς νῦν δὴ ἔλεγες φιλοθεάμονάς τε καὶ φιλοτέχνους καὶ πρακτικούς, καὶ χωρὶς αὖ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, οὓς μόνους ἄν τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι φιλοσόφους.

Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις;

Οἱ μέν που, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φιλήκοοι καὶ φιλοθεάμονες τάς τε καλὰς φωνὰς ἀσπάζονται καὶ χρόας καὶ σχήματα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων δημιουργούμενα, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀδύνατος αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τὴν φύσιν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι.

PLATO, *Republic*, v. 476 A.

By the help of this principle, then, I draw a distinction between those whom you described just now as lovers of sights, lovers of arts, and practical persons, on the one hand, and on the other, those about whom we are now inquiring, to whom alone we can rightly give the name of philosophers.

Explain what you mean.

Why, I suppose that those who love seeing and hearing admire beautiful sounds, and colours, and forms and all artistic products into which these enter; but the nature of beauty in itself their understanding is unable to behold and embrace.

Davies and Vaughan's Translation.

ESSAY I.

THE PROVINCE, AIM, AND METHODS OF THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

NOTHING is more delightful for one seeking pleasure than to stroll listlessly, not knowing or caring to know whither the road leads, what the surroundings are, or what object there is in walking. Nothing, on the other hand, can be more mischievous for one walking with a fixed purpose than to be ignorant of his definite goal, of the position and nature of his destination, the state of the road to be traversed, and the means of communication. In the scientific treatment of things, in contradistinction to the practical or the artistic attitude of mind, man follows the methodical road with a fixed aim in view, he strives to obtain precise knowledge, and therefore he must be fully conscious of what he desires to find, and the means he has at his disposal to bring about this purpose. The progress of any branch of investigation is most seriously retarded by ignorance of its true province, its aims, and means of inquiry. Before beginning to work in physiology, the student must learn what tasks physiology sets itself, how it is distinguished from other branches of natural science, and how it may use them as auxiliaries. Otherwise he will be mixing up physiological with anatomical and pathological phenomena, and through error and confusion he will individually go through all the defining and severing process which the collective efforts of many individual workers have established. Only after this useless

labour will he arrive at the definite conception of the task before him, and only then can he carry on his research with any profit.

The greatest confusion exists with regard to the true meaning of the study of classical archaeology, its aims, and especially its means of investigation, that is, its methods. The researcher finds himself baffled at every step by the ignorance of people in general, and even of those who from their acquaintance with classical literature might be expected to know its meaning. How can one hope for a just appreciation of special investigation when not even the actual meaning of the term classical archaeology is understood, nor the province and aim of that department of learning as it now exists? I therefore gladly seize this opportunity of putting forward clearly the nature, province, aims, and method of archaeology, not merely in an abstract and general way, but by illustrating the general remarks by some discoveries which, from their associations and the artistic value of what is found, are sure to be of wide interest. An essay on the Province of Archaeology in general terms would not stimulate the appreciative power of those who prefer facts to views, and would glide off the minds of readers without leaving any mark. But in these essays the general principles will be illustrated and fixed by the individual and concrete instances; while the special inquiries will be appreciated, because viewed in the light of the general definition of the archaeological system.

When people endeavour to ascertain what is meant by classical archaeology, they are apt to content themselves with turning to the etymology of the word. But this is profitless. A study may have developed far away from the original meaning of its name, and it is not for us to attempt to press the thing back into the original meaning of the phrase, but to recognise and define what the word has actually come to comprise.

Let us provisionally put as the synonym for Greek Archaeology, the Study of Greek Art. That Greek Archaeology is chiefly concerned with the study of Greek Art is recognised by most people in a vague way. The term 'student of Greek Art' contains two elements, that of 'scholar,' and of 'art-student.' It is natural to translate terms unknown into known terms,

or the less familiar into the more familiar. Now, most people are familiar with the 'scholar,' the 'philologist,' the 'student of Greek,' their occupation, and the means and ends of their study; or again they are familiar with the 'art-critic,' the 'writer on art,' the 'connoisseur of pictures and statues.' They are not so familiar with the 'Greek Archaeologist.' Accordingly they will translate the less familiar compound idea into terms of either of the component elements which is most familiar to them individually. So some will consider the Greek Archaeologist as a species of the genus 'scholar,' which to a certain degree he must be, and, as we shall see, to a still greater degree he was: 'He wishes to illustrate passages of ancient authors by the works of art' will be their simple summing up of his aims and ends. Or, they will consider him a species of the genus 'art-critic' who has made a specialty of one group of works of art, namely, the Greek: 'He means to point out what is to be admired in the works of ancient art and what is not,' will be their summary definition of the province of Archaeology.

As a matter of fact this fluctuation in assigning a definition to archaeology, which in most cases arises from ignorance, has been the most conspicuous feature in the history of that study from its beginning down to our day, and this struggle is not yet over. It is the ever recurring struggle of bodies, states, individuals, and studies, whose elements lap over into other older or more familiarly established forms, for independent and self-contained recognition. Studies are in one way as dependent upon outer circumstances in their development and modifications, as organisms are affected by their environment, or goods are influenced by the market supply and demand. These outer circumstances in the case of archaeology are the conditions under which certain persons have taken up the study, and, above all, the recognised institutions of education, schools and universities, into which it will have to be introduced before it comes before the world as 'a definite study,' such as can be called a 'scientific discipline.' And in truth there is a rational principle in this process: a science cannot be admitted into the academic course until it has settled and defined its province, and fixed and established its own method—only then can it be *taught*. This outer, didactic influence of universities upon the inner con-

stitution of a study is most beneficial to science, provided that it do not engross the attention of the student to the detriment or destruction of research, and, further, provided that teaching be not degraded to be the handmaid of examinations. It forces those who pursue the subject to collect into a methodical system what was before disjointed, to become clearly conscious of what the means and ends of the study are, to make the great step from the dilettante to the student, from the listless stroller to the earnest traveller.

The beginning of this fluctuating struggle for the independent establishment of a separate study of Archaeology was coeval with the beginning of the study of ancient classical monuments during the Italian Renaissance. The Revival of Letters was also a revival of the ancient Greek art. But at this time the study of ancient monuments was pursued by only two classes of people, scholars and artists. The artists generally assimilated it with their own creative genius, and carried it into their works. Some of them took the more theoretical aspect of the study of ancient remains, but always with a view to utilising them for purposes of contemporaneous art. So Brunelleschi[1] began (1407) to study ancient architecture with this view; Leo Baptista Alberti (1404—1472) in his works, *Della Statua*, *Della Pittura* 1435, *De Re Aedificatoria* 1457, and many others with regard to the other departments of art. Urged by Brunelleschi, Francesco Squarcione (1394—1474) travelled in Greece, and brought with him originals 'in his head as well as in drawings' (tum mente tum chartis). He was followed by the indefatigable Cyriaco de' Pizzicolli of Ancona (about 1430, and again in 1447), and a number of other travellers. It is a well-known fact that many of the later artists studied and wrote on ancient monuments.

The scholars, on the other hand (*e.g.* Poggio Bracciolini, 1380—1459) began with the study of the ancient writers on art such as Vitruvius, Frontinus, the elder Pliny, subsequently also

[1] See Stark, *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 80 seqq. I must refer the reader to this exhaustive though unfortunately fragmentary work, in which he will be well directed, if he desires to become acquainted with the history of archaeological studies—an inquiry far from the aim of the present essay.

Lucian and Pausanias; and when they referred to monuments it was with a view to classical literature, mythology, or, at the utmost, antiquities.

A third spirit in which the ancient remains were studied in these times was the local patriotic feeling of the Italians, especially with regard to Rome. And so began, with Francesco Poggio (1404—1459) and Biondo Flavio (1388—1463), the study of the topography of ancient Rome, together with collections of epigraphic remains. Pomponius Laetus founded the Accademia degli Antiquarii in Rome (1478—1553). When monuments of art are dealt with by these writers, it is chiefly in the light of their immediate bearing upon the past history of Rome, and this history again is somewhat influenced by the patriotic interest in their native soil. The works of art are introduced for the immediate purpose of illustrating to the eye past historical events and institutions of their country. Hence it is that busts and coins are of especial interest, not so much for their own artistic value, as because they are means of illustrating the personal history of Rome.

With Winckelmann (1717—1768) the separate and really independent study of ancient art begins[1]. Not that ancient monuments had not been studied before, and had not furnished topics for many learned and excellent books; but in Winckelmann we have the literary, artistic and antiquarian spirit used as an instrument for a new and independent study of ancient art for its own sake, together with all the enthusiasm for the history of the land which became almost his adopted home. Gifted with a sensitive organism to start with, with a keen feeling for all that is beautiful and great, sympathies widened out by the study of history, of natural science, of modern German, French, Italian and English as well as ancient literature, and by his subsequent travels and intercourse with people of varied standing and interests, fully conversant with the classical authors and open to their spirit, he combined with these advantages a sound training in

[1] Stark has rightly pointed out how great and wide-spread was the interest in ancient works before the time of Winckelmann, and how much preparatory work had been done, not only in Italy but also in the other countries of Europe, France, England, Germany, and the Netherlands.

the practice of art itself, living in its very atmosphere in Rome, and having as his friend and adviser a genuine artist, Raphael Mengs. Such were the circumstances that favoured him in the consummation of his task[1]. At the same time Pompeii and Herculaneum are discovered; Etruria, southern Italy and Sicily yield their rich harvest in ancient works, especially vases; the temples of Paestum and of Sicily rise from oblivion; English and French architects wander through Rome and Dalmatia to Greece, Asia Minor and Syria. After twenty years a series of valuable exact reproductions of monuments from Pola, Salona, Athens, Miletus, Ephesus, Byzantium, Palmyra and Heliopolis are offered to the student. Societies are founded, and collections arranged systematically, and great museums formed by order of the state, as the papal museums at Rome, and the British Museum in London. The most wide-spread interest begins to be felt in archaeology, the most powerful and refined minds of all European nations, especially among the higher classes of society, devote themselves to this study.

But again there was a tendency to emphasise or obtrude one or other of the component elements alone, and for its own sake, while it ought to have been used merely as a means to the ultimate end. Soon in this or that archaeologist we find the scholarly side, or the purely antiquarian interest predominating, or the mere subjective, dilettante pleasure in the artistic qualities of the works, or even (and this is most frequent as it is most detrimental) the collector's attitude of mind, who wishes merely to amass curiosities, whether Greek or Fiji. These relapses were bound to take place so long as the study was not firmly constituted in its method, and this could only be brought about by its introduction into the acknowledged circle of studies, its admission into the university course. This was done, especially in Germany.

But here begins a new phase of the struggle for independence. The danger from the side of art, of dilettantism and curiosity-hunting is now removed. In the universities and the university teachers, it was not probable that the artist's

[1] See Stark, as above, pp. 162, 163, and especially C. Justi, *Winckelmann, sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1872.

attitude of mind would give the key-note to the study of archaeology. In fact the predominance of the scholastic and philological method would even tend to counteract any real artistic appreciativeness which is a necessary condition of even a sober and systematic study of the history of art. Before the establishment of special chairs for archaeology, men like Fr. Creuzer would draw archaeological matters into the pale of their lectures on philosophical and philological subjects. In order that classical archaeology might be at all introduced as a separate study, it had to appeal to the fixed body of the philological faculty, and had to express its claims to utility in terms intelligible to these scholars, in fact in terms of philology or antiquities. Then the teachers of archaeology were, and have been until quite recently, enlisted from those who were primarily classical students, while the students who took up this study were generally students of philology, destined to be teachers of Latin and Greek in schools[1]. The result has been that, though at present archaeology is fully established as a separate branch of study, it is still considered as a subordinate department of classical philology; simply because the student of archaeology having to make use of ancient authors must to some degree be conversant with the classics, and is therefore put down as a philologist of a special and restricted department of that study[2]. Accordingly in Stark's book[3], however justly in many ways that archaeologist has conceived the province of the study, archaeology is considered to hold a somewhat subordinate position to classical philology, as one of its subdivisions. Now, however wide our conception of the term philology may be, it can but be detrimental to clearness thus to misunderstand the relations between these various branches of classical learning. The study of ancient monuments must be in no way subordinate to the study of ancient literature.

Archaeology is together with ancient literature a co-ordinate

[1] It may fairly be questioned whether such students and in general those of an essentially philological turn of mind are best adapted to make good archaeologists.

[2] It must never be forgotten, however, that the archaeologist must combine classical learning with artistic feeling in an equal degree for a new combined method and purpose.

[3] Stark, as above, 1 and 2.

department of the science of classical antiquity. It deals with that side of Greek life which, in its own peculiar and unwritten language, conveys one of the most essential characteristics in the history of that people. Though, as a matter of fact, most people are more familiar with classical authors as a source for information, the remains of art, especially of Greek art, are, from its position in antiquity, one of the most important sources for the study of the institutions, customs, and, above all, the spirit and character of that people, and of the changes and modifications of its constitution and spirit in various localities and various epochs. It is universally recognised that the study of Renaissance art is indispensable to any student of Renaissance history. Yet we may deliberately say that art was much more fully a part of Greek life, domestic, public, and religious, than it was of the life of the Renaissance. It is difficult for those of our time to realise this primary and essential position held by art with the Greeks, simply because art is not to us the great reality which it was to the ancient Greeks. To us art is either associated with museums, or is considered a part of domestic decoration. A very minute portion of our time is devoted to its contemplation. We cannot help feeling as if we were doing something extraordinary and not belonging to the daily routine of life, when we contemplate a picture or a statue, however much attention we may devote to such matters in comparison with the general public. This was never felt by the Greeks. Nothing proves this uncommonness of art with us better than the assertion that it is found necessary to make of our appreciative power. Self-assertion always points to the fact that what is asserted is uncommon or unexpected in the individual or in his natural surroundings. This, with respect to our subject, is expressed by the conscious distinction which is established by those who self-complacently draw a fixed line between themselves and those whom they consider as not gifted with the same amount of appreciation. The Greeks had no more need of asserting that side of their mental constitution, than we should have of asserting the difference between those among us who can read and write, and those who can not. For art was so essential a part of Greek life, was so constantly before their eyes, so thoroughly permeated their system, that it

occupied the position of one of the common needs of their life. We have ours; they had theirs, and this was one of them.

But while recognising that the Greeks were an essentially artistic nation, we have further to bring out the fact that, of all the phases which the artistic spirit manifests, the *plastic* character of mind is that which the Greeks most emphatically present to us. I cannot hope that the force of such a statement will be immediately realised by those who have not been in the habit of looking upon the history of Greece with such questions in view, though it has been clearly put before[1]. I am convinced that if scholars give their attention to it they will find it realised in all individual instances. It is so important for the true conception of the position of Greek archaeology in the general study of Greek antiquity, that I must do all in my power to make it understood. I shall do this, even at the risk of being taxed with philosophising, by attempting to account for the origin of phenomena and their effect, instead of merely remaining content with a statement of dead facts, which, indeed, from being merely stated can hardly be at once recognised as facts. In other words I shall attempt, first, to define what is here meant by the term plastic; secondly, to trace the causes which underlie this distinctive characteristic of the Greek race; and, thirdly, to indicate the chief manifestations of the plastic spirit among the Greeks.

In the first place, it is incumbent upon us to make clear what such phrases as 'the plastic mind,' 'the plastic spirit,' in the active sense of the words, are meant to convey. I must here anticipate what needs much fuller and deeper exposition; but seeing that they concern the most important aspect of Greek life, a clear understanding of these terms is a necessary preliminary to any adequate study of Greek art.

Of the two arts which present themselves to the eye, plastic art or sculpture differs from pictorial art or painting, in two principal points, its material forms and its choice of subjects.

[1] Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III. p. 332: 'Was die Griechen auszeichnet, ihrer Mythologie und Poesie den höchsten Werth giebt und ihre ganze Bildung durchdringt, das *Plastische*, tritt in den Werken der Künste, die von ihm den Namen haben, in grösserer Anschaulichkeit und Fülle hervor als in allen Uebrigen. Darum sind sie eine Schule der Alterthumskenntniss überhaupt und ein nothwendiger und grosser Bestandtheil der Alterthumsstudien.'

First then it differs in the material. The sculptor represents bodies in their solidity and roundness, as they are. The painter translates the roundness and depth to a plane surface, and therein departs from reality, in giving the semblance of volume instead of real volume. So too in details; the sculptor, for instance, comes nearer the reality of hair in modelling ridges into the surface, elevations, recessions; the painter produces the illusion of varying depth by means of light and colour. To produce these effects the painter must study appearances, reflect upon laws of chiaroscuro and perspective; he must, so to say, be conscious of the difference between things as they are and as they appear to be. While the sculptor is nearer reality, is simply observing, the painter must be more reflective, introduce more abstraction.

Secondly, sculpture differs from painting in the choice of its subjects. Both sculpture and painting represent forms of organic life, and when the painter has to represent parts even of the inorganic world, as for instance a rock, in so far as painting has a vocation as an art, he arranges these parts one with another, chooses, accentuates, and omits, in fact makes a *composition*, so that the whole receives that unity of organisation which makes a picture a work of art in contradistinction to a mere accurate reproduction. He harmonises the multiplicity of nature into unity in accordance with the laws of association inherent in the human mind. The artist gives life to the dead in introducing the natural design of human mind into nature as he reproduces her in his work. Now organisation, or life, in the first instance manifests itself to our senses or our imagination in that there is a central unity belonging to the parts, towards which they all tend, so that none is accidental, but all are essential to the whole. A hand separate, an arm separate, would appear to us dead; but a hand joined to an arm and the arm to a complete body is living to us. A branch severed from the tree is dead or dying. When in active interaction with it, receiving its sap from the tree of which it is a real and breathing part, a part which contributes to the maintenance of the whole organism, it is living. In what we call an organism multiplicity is bound up into unity. Now our senses and our imagination, in contradistinction to inner analysing, demand that this unity

should be localised, that we should be made to perceive the centre or vital point of this unity. This centre or vital point will be either physical or moral: either the actual mathematical centre, or the individual point of the greatest moral importance, as, the head in a human organism with regard to spirit, the chest with regard to physical strength, or the person of the accused in a trial scene. This, of course, is a very general statement of the principle, for the central point of interest in a work of sculpture or painting may vary in its position according to the special nature of the subject represented. But sculpture and painting differ fundamentally in the way in which they give this organic life to their representations. A painting can represent bodies[1] in their natural environment. It represents the centre, the foreground and the background. In a statue this is not the case. Here we have only the body itself, the human figure, with no foreground or background of any kind[2]. The unity which gives organic life to a statue must therefore be localised within the body itself, the leading lines[3] must return into the work, or else they will drive the eye towards something which has no existence in the work, and all unity will be lost. In the picture, on the other hand, this life-giving unity is not to be found wholly in one or other element alone, but lies in the relation between the several independent parts, and is to be localised in the centre of the picture between the foreground and background, in the unity of composition which unites the numerous separate parts or bodies into an har-

[1] For clearness' sake I shall merely allude to human figures, the only true sphere of sculpture.

[2] I do not include purely decorative sculpture, in which sculpture is subservient to another more general end.

[3] In every statue we can distinguish the leading lines corresponding to the attitude of the figure. In the statue of a Hypnos in the Louvre museum the arms are folded above the head, and it will be easy for the reader to understand how the lines may be said to return into the work. On the other hand, in the statue of the Borghese Gladiator in the same museum, one arm is stretched forward and upraised, the other lowered and stretched back; the statue, as we have it, is but half a composition, with no unity in itself, and the lines lead us away from the central point to the wall of the museum or some other work which happens to be near. These leading lines correspond greatly to the irons in that important first stage of the modelling of a statue, which is called 'putting up the irons,' round which the soft clay to be modelled is massed.

monious whole. This centre, moreover, is not so definite or definable as in a statue, but may, and in many of the best pictures does, lie not in the centre of the drawing, but in the unity of colour, the tone of the picture, the mood which all the single parts evoke in the spectator[1]. Even if the statue of a Venus is introduced into a picture, the centre of life will not necessarily lie within the statue independent of its surroundings; but may, and generally will (if it be really a picture and not merely a study)[2], lie in the relation between the statue and its surroundings; how it stands out from the wall which is its background, how the lines lead up to it from the front and the side, what shadows it throws or what light is reflected upon it, how its colour is affected by the surrounding colour, as a curtain, and how it modifies the adjoining colours, how it chimes in with the whole tone; finally, what character it gives to the place represented, whether a palatial hall or a Greek temple, solemnity, wealth, refinement, or luxury, how the figure bows down in adoration before it, or critically balances its merits, and so on.

Therefore, as with regard to the means of expression used in the two arts, so also in the choice of subjects, painting differs from sculpture in that it does not depend upon the simplicity of purely sensuous observation, but is rather concerned with the *relation* between things; it is more abstract and must introduce reflexion. Plastic art corresponds rather to things in themselves; painting (and this is still more the case with poetry) corresponds rather to the relation between things. The plastic mind is simply

[1] No doubt painting is able to represent the same objects as sculpture, and has frequently done so with great effect; but it is essentially painting in what it can do *more* than sculpture, in representing that which can be *best* expressed by its own peculiar means of expression. An actor in a pantomime no doubt can represent a spoken dialogue; yet the strength of the pantomime lies in the representation of action by means of expressive and graceful movements, and not in narrative or dialogue which is the strong point of the *spoken* drama.

[2] Modern artists often forget the difference that exists between a picture and a study. Many of the pictures by ancient masters in museums were considered by them merely as studies, as Leonardo's head of Christ. I purposely omit portraits, as their chief aim is accuracy of reproduction. Were it not destructive of clearness, however, I could show how in a less manifest way the same rules of composition apply even to them.

observing; the pictorial and the poetic minds are less intuitive, more reflective and associative.

Hence the plastic mind, in the active sense of the term, comes to mean the mind which acts through the senses alone, by pure and simple sensuous observation; while the pictorial or the poetic tendency is less intuitive, more reflective and associative. The word 'plastic' in this active sense has been so long in use in Germany to express this definite idea, that though less widely used in England, it becomes a necessity to adopt it in dealing with the present subject.

The ancient Greeks were thus 'simply' observing and plastic in mind; while we of modern times are, so to say, verbal rather than plastic. The Greeks thought by means of the inner representation of the things themselves, while we think by the representations of words[1]; be it in recalling their sound or their written symbols. We have lost the power of simple observation and our interest in the things themselves, that is, things independent of their relation to other things or to us. The Greek carried his humanity into inanimate nature, endowed it with a self-centred life of its own; we draw nature into the sphere of humanity and regard it in the light of use or conscious pleasure. But to look at things thus with a view to use implies reflexion and thought concerning these things, and this counteracts the simple observation of their form. Hence we are bad observers[2]. For

[1] Besides many causes for this turn of our mind, one of the most manifest is the multiplication of books, and the prevalence of reading as a means of communicating thought. In reading the eye is made a mere handmaid for the other sense of hearing. We do not look at the form for its own sake, but call upon the essential function of the eye only just enough to stimulate by association the memory of the sound of words. When once we realise what an amount of this sound and word reading is done by the average man in our days, as compared with a Greek, we shall no longer be astonished to find that we are losing the power of observing things; so that modern philologists and psychologists are not wholly wrong when they consider language to be the only currency of thought.

[2] For several years I have made a point of inquiring into the power or rather feebleness of observation of people I meet, and it was strange to notice the effect when their attention was directed to this side of their nature. Unlike the M. Jourdain who was not aware of a power which he really possessed, they are astonished to find that they are hardly possessed of a faculty, with which they were always in the habit of crediting themselves. With a view to testing the above, I asked one who was present while I was writing these lines the colour of his

to fix outer objects in our memory we make but scanty use of impressions of eye and touch, in fact use them merely as provisional means to be cast away so soon as we have translated them into some associative thought which is really bound up with some word. The Greek on the other hand would translate even abstract ideas into some visible or tangible form, and would thus strengthen his memory by an image and not by a word.

In the second place, we have to consider the causes which underlie this distinctive characteristic of the Greek race. These causes are twofold, physical and social.

First as regards physical causes, we must remember that their climate held the happy mean between the tropical and enervating and the cold and indurating. Neither of these extremes is conducive to a spirited appreciation of the forms in nature; the tropical in not sufficiently raising man above the vegetating impassivity of sense, the colder in calling too strongly upon the active exertion of intellectual and physical power to allow of any dwelling upon pleasurable impressions from without. The tropical does not sufficiently stimulate the constructive impulse of mind to build or to fashion what nature gives into forms that suit man's use or fancy; the colder drives him before all things to build himself a house, to transfer thither his life and his interest, firmly hedged off from the outer world, which henceforth he must subjugate to his use. The tropical

mother's eyes. He informed me that she was dead. 'But don't you remember it?' After some attempts he found he could not. But later on he started up with, 'they were blue.' 'How comes it that you know now and did not know before?' I asked. 'Because I remembered that two years ago we spoke about it.' He had no image in his eye but he remembered the words. Mr F. Galton ('Statistics of Mental Imagery,' *Mind*, 1880, p. 301 seq.) has made some interesting observations which bear out my generalisations. One striking result of his induction is the fact that, of those whose power of reproducing mental images he tested, the hundred scientific men were most deficient, while the schoolboys were far higher in the scale. No doubt scientific men are much occupied in reflecting on the *relation* between larger groups of things and spend the greater part of their time in reading books, while boys have retained their naïve power of observation of the individual things that surround them. Even if some of these scientific men were habitually engaged in experiments and scientific observation, their sphere of interest in the things observed was no doubt abnormally centralised in that one group of phenomena which belonged to their scientific specialty. This specialisation is an outcome of modern social development and was unknown to the Greeks who maintained their all-roundness of interest.

drives man's senses and thought out into the outer world; the colder drives them within and makes him primarily self-centred so that he views the things without in their bearing upon the subject within.

The same holds good with regard to the constitution of the soil. Midway between luxurious vegetation which demands no exertion to yield its fruit, and the relentless sterility which makes work the mainspring of man's life, the Greek soil roused its inhabitants to exertion of energy, yet permitted of their seeing in nature a kind and beautiful mother. Both climate and soil favoured, what may be expressed in the one short word, *play*. While neither the East nor the South provided their inhabitants with sufficient energy for sportiveness (which always demands some surplus of vital spirits), the northern climes hardened energy into the sternness and earnestness of labour. It was this physical constitution of the surroundings of the Greeks which led them to their early and most characteristic institution, the athletic games. And this institution again, coupled with their primary predisposition to observation, fostered and developed their appreciation of the human form, thus becoming one of the chief promoters of the plastic spirit in its higher stages.

With regard to the physical causes which in the most elementary way furthered the observing and plastic power of the Greeks, we must also bear in mind the physical geography of Greece. Here again we are midway between the flat expanse of endless plains which do not impress the eyes of the inhabitants either with succinctness of form or with variety, and the awful ruggedness of alpine districts which oppress man and his fancy with their stern majesty, and restrict his horizon. Plains and valleys, free and wide, open to the eye, moulded and varied into individual form by clear-cut hills, loosen as it were the fetters of fancy, but limit its sphere by the bounds of moderation and harmony. So also the sea, which appeals so strongly to imagination and enterprise, did not wash a flat shore with its endless procession of waves, suggesting the infinite and vague, but was fettered into form in the numerous inlets, gulfs, and bays, clasped and held as it were by the firm land. Thus the natural surroundings favoured in every way the free and full development of the powers of observation of the Greeks.

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Secondly, as regards social causes, the political constitution of the Greeks exercised a similar influence upon the formation of their mind in the same direction. Their states and communities, while affording to the individual citizen ample opportunities for widening his sympathies and throwing his desires outside his immediate selfish interests, were not so great in size or so numerous in inhabitants, as to withdraw themselves from immediate physical perception, and to become mere abstractions inviting vague generalisations. Nor was there that cosmopolitan feeling, which in our days drives even the simplest of modern citizens (to whom distance is measured by the telegraph) to deal with such vast terms as 'humanity,' and 'evolution,' of which he can have no definite image in his mind. Then, again, the full Greek citizen had time and leisure for 'play'; for the slaves performed most of the tasks necessary for the maintenance of life. In our times, on the other hand, the economical struggle for existence has transfused all classes of society and has given an essential stamp to the inner nature of man, saturating his whole being. We are therefore sophisticated in our observation of things and do not meet them with the *naïveté* with which a Greek allowed himself to be impressed. Play is becoming more and more a delicacy in lieu of a part of daily food, and even the wealthiest among us, who are not immediately concerned with the material struggle for existence, cannot help feeling more or less consciously that a life not immediately productive is not quite in keeping with the spirit that surrounds us. However far we may be removed from the mercenary spirit, our age has received its impress from this economical struggle of modern society, ever since free competition was introduced. It is not an age of chivalry or of feudalism, and, in spite of European congresses and standing armies, it is not one of national principles; it is essentially one of economical struggle. We all feel the reality and moral weight of the tasks of peaceful economical subsistence; and this view, as applied to all things, primarily, though but half consciously, affects our senses. This view of things, however, is essentially detrimental to a purely playful and artistic contemplation of things and events[1].

[1] See Essay VIII.

In the same way the more strictly social institutions of the Greeks, all that determined the daily occupation of their lives, furthered what we may call roundness in them, so that all sides of their nature, physical and mental, were equally developed; while we, in the natural course of events, have been forced into specialisation and division of labour, which rob us of the simple and sound observation of things. The fact is that one who is a physiologist for three quarters of his day, or a political economist, or anything else, will look at things chiefly or primarily in the light of physiology, or economical generalisation, or whatever his special subject may be.

Institutions, again, such as the palaestra and the agonistic festivals went far to develop the feeling of the Greeks for form, as has been stated above[1]. Further, the political position of their country, menaced as it was by powerful and hostile neighbouring states far surpassing them in number of inhabitants, forced the Greeks to rely upon the superiority of the individual soldier in skill and strength. Thus, while encouraging the institution of the athletic games, it tended to increase their appreciation and study of the human form and its manifestation of strength and health.

Finally, their religion, which no doubt to a great extent took its particular form from the natural predisposition of the race, reacted upon their faculties of observation through its rites and its beautiful sacred images. The essence of the Jewish and Christian faiths is the spirituality of the Divine power, and to attempt at producing an image of divinity, whether inwardly or externally, is condemned as a sin. But even the highest and subtlest of feelings were thus brought home to the Greeks by this very process.

In the third place, having examined the causes, we have to indicate several manifestations of the 'simply' observing and plastic spirit of the Greeks which we notice as the most striking characteristic in all the spheres of their life and thought.

[1] A more thorough investigation of the relation between this institution and the Art of the Greeks I hope to make the topic of a special inquiry. Since this was in print, I have given a preliminary sketch of this relation, in the form of an address at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, April 13, 1883; see *Proc. R. I.* for 1883.

Their very language is immediately based upon observation of nature. The Greek draws his words from the direct source of nature, while the Roman introduces some abstraction, some mental association. Cicero[1] mentions with some self-satisfaction that the Roman word for a feast, *convivium*, which draws us up to the association of intellectual converse, is far nobler and less material than the Greek word *συμπόσιον*, which draws us down to the material act of drinking. Where the Roman says *benevolens*, which points to the inner well-wishing, the Greek says *πρόφρων*, which lays the stress on the outer object, a forward, outward-leaning soul. The words *πρόβατον* and *εἰλίποδες βοῦς* evidence their minute observation of outer nature, denoting that the sheep in walking places one foot before the other, while cattle drag one foot after the other. It is most interesting to read through Homer or any one of the great poets with this question in view, and to see how perfectly simple and sensuous are the attributes and compound words used by them. The more we study their language the more strongly will this characteristic impress itself upon us.

In their building, too, and engineering, the first step with the Greeks is the clinging to nature and the adaptation to the natural environment. The Romans, however, construct almost irrespective of the environing nature, appearing almost to repel the suggestions made to their senses by the material at hand. While the Roman builds his theatre on a plain, a colossal monument of his *imperium* over nature, the Greek seeks a hill-side, itself affording shelter and an arrangement of seats from each of which the stage is visible. The Greek leads his water underground or in grooves cut into the rock, the Roman erects arched aqueducts for miles and miles over the country. The same applies to the roads.

In their conceptions of the state we notice above all things that the state to the Greeks was not a mere imaginary circle which encompasses the really existing individuals; it was an essence, an existing being, which even presented man with that attribute which constitutes the difference between the animals and himself, which makes out of the *ζῶον* a *ζῶον πολιτικόν*. Herakleitos attributes such reality to the state that he considers

[1] *De Senectute*, XIII.

all men who attempt to imagine themselves existing independently of it to be dreaming awake and waking in dreams. Plato, in the *Republic*, derives the morality of the individual from the Idea of justice in the state; while the modern philosopher, Francis Lieber, in his *Political Ethics*, attempts to establish a kind of morality for the state corresponding to the idea of goodness which he finds guiding the individual. State, with the Greeks, was not a mere name, but a reality, a thing.

The religion of the Greeks has ever been recognised as intimately connected with their feeling for form and its manifestation in their sculpture. As Greek art was strongly influenced by their mythology, so their works of art again reacted upon and modified their religious feeling[1]. Yet both in their mythology and in their religious art they clung to nature and avoided abstraction. While the gods of the Greeks arose out of nature, and did not transcend it, even when they developed into full personality, the specifically Roman gods, such as Saturnus, Ops, Terminus, arose from preconceived notions of human needs[2]. Their most ideal statues breathe of life. The Greek conceptions of gods were built up from the real bases of human life, and the statue of a god differed from man merely in that it was perfect in its qualities, which man is not. The highest conception of what is admirable in man constituted their gods. The early Oriental and the Byzantine art expressed the divine, the difference between man and god, by the uncommonness or abnormality of the types by means of which they chose to represent their gods: and so we have the fanciful combination of man and beast in Egyptian and Assyrian art, and we see the readiness with which the picture of a Madonna turned dark brown from age was accepted in Byzantine painting as a type of something preeminently holy, as the 'Black Madonna.' Therefore it is, that these Oriental types must remain the same and there can be no development, or else the known difference between man and gods would not remain fixed; while the Greek

[1] I need but remind the reader of the passage in Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* XII. 10. 9) concerning the influence of Pheidias's Olympian Zeus upon the religious conception of that god: *Cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid receptae religioni videtur; adeo majestas operis deum aequavit.*

[2] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. I. p. 165.

gods may develop in their type and in their representation, because influenced and essentially modified by impressions from nature. The Oriental is the upshot of reflexion and abstraction, the Greek of 'simple' observation which directs the course of the imagination.

It has further been universally acknowledged that Greek poetry is essentially plastic in character. Its imagery, beginning with the Homeric attributes, appeals above all things to the eye[1]. The persons and things described stand before our eyes in their visible form before they appeal to our sympathy with their spiritual qualities; nay, in Homer, who manifests his appreciation of form and his study of nature in his detailed descriptions of the anatomy of the body in his wounded or falling heroes, spiritual qualities such as majesty, power, kindliness, effeminacy, vileness, are merely conveyed by the description of their physical correlatives. And we must not ignore this element in the representation of the Greek dramas. The actors were above all chosen with regard to their physical fitness for the parts: stature and voice had to convey the individuality of the character before the acting was considered. And we must not forget that the eye of the audience, with its artistic fastidiousness, had to be satisfied by attitudes which were to present living sculpture, and that the dancing of the chorus had no associations of childishness, effeminacy, and frivolity (as it invariably has with us), but was an art in the true sense of the word, which translated into *visible* rhythm the emotions evoked by the action.

Finally, even in their philosophy, we have the same manifestations of the plastic spirit, not only in the simplicity with which the Ionic hylozoists seek for the principle of the world[2] in

[1] Lessing, in his *Laokoon*, could not have chosen a more unfortunate representative than Homer, to illustrate the difference between pictorial and verbal principles in art, and there can be no doubt that he forces the data into accordance with his general principles. The distinctive characteristic of the descriptions of Homer is that they are essentially plastic.

[2] Greek philosophy as a whole seems to me to differ from modern philosophy taken as a whole in that it is primarily metaphysical, while modern philosophy is primarily psychological. The former strives before all and above all to find the first principle of things (*including* man), of the visible and invisible world. The latter more or less consciously draws the human mind as a circle round all things whose first principle is to be found. The Greek by this fundamental frame of his mind is

material substances such as water, air, fire, but in the artistic and sculpturesque form which the thoughts of the great philosophers like Plato and Aristotle take. Their instances are repeatedly taken from the fashioning arts, and the main point of controversy between Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy is expressed in the relation between matter and form, the sculptor's material and the form which he infuses into it. In Plato above all we notice the supreme influence of the artistic training and the artistic surroundings. Nay, I venture to maintain that, unless the artistic and plastic constitution of the Greek mind is taken into account, Plato's doctrine of Ideas can never be understood. What puzzles and baffles the modern student, and makes Plato to him a mixture of the profound and the fantastic, is that Plato's Ideas on the one hand correspond to universals, and that on the other hand he endows them with real, almost material, existence. These conceptions can only be understood when we take into account the plastic nature of the Greek mind, in which thought and form were inseparably connected, and when we remember that art was a great reality to the Greeks and to Plato. In the art of a Pheidias we have a representation of human form which nevertheless rises above every individual man; every individual is imperfect, the statue of Zeus was not. A mind which is thus from childhood saturated with the ideal forms that surround it, will be able to feel much more keenly the reality of that which floats above the incomplete individual beings, than one to whom art is not such a reality.

I have devoted all this space to suggesting in some way the plastic character of the Greek mind because it is the fundamental characteristic of Greek culture. If we are ignorant of this quality, it is vain for us to strive at appreciating Greek antiquity and at conceiving justly the position of classical archaeology. We may now say with Welcker: 'that the plastic spirit which distinguishes the Greeks, gives to their mythology and poetry the highest worth and penetrates their whole culture, stands forth in greater clearness and richness in

driven to find the first principle in a great unity corresponding to a visible thing; the modern philosopher finds this first principle in some Relation or Thought which cannot be conceived without the supposition of a mind human or similar to it.

the art which takes its name from it than in all others. Therefore the plastic arts are a school of the science of antiquity in general and a necessary and important constituent element of the studies of antiquity.' After all that has been said, it will now be evident, I hope, that the study of Greek art is of sufficient importance to be carried on in an independent manner, and that at all events it is in no way subordinate to classical philology. We are now therefore free to review the various departments of the study of antiquity, and fix the position of archaeology among them.

The whole study of classical antiquity may be conveniently and profitably divided according to the different sources from which information concerning this bygone period of culture is derived.

Broadly speaking, our knowledge of classical antiquity is derived from three main sources: (1) Words, (2) Monuments, (3) Events.

(1) The branch which mainly derives its information from words is Philology, in the widest sense of the term; and this again is divided into two groups, according as we study the words and their combinations as such, the formal side, or the contents of what is conveyed by combinations of words, the material side. The former is philology in the restricted sense and has to deal with the forms of words and their meaning, grammar, dialect, &c.; the latter comprises ancient literature and philosophy, and deals with the thoughts and feelings of the ancients in so far as they are expressed by means of words.

(2) Archaeology draws its information concerning the life, thought and feelings of the ancients from the monuments. If we carefully study the monuments that have come down to us, they will not only tell us their own story, but that of the men who made them, of the people who surrounded them, the time and country in which the artists lived. As we shall see, archaeology will have to draw some of its information from classical authors; but this will not be for the sake of what is written or of the author, or of the events recorded, but for the light which is thrown upon the art and the individual monuments.

(3) Greek and Roman history[1] is concerned with the events which took place in those particular localities and within a certain period of time; and, as a science, it must investigate the causes, natural, social and political, which led to certain events. It might be urged that there is no ground for this distinction between literature and philosophy on the one hand and history on the other: for history is handed down by means of words. Yet they are clearly distinguishable in that words are an essential part of literature and philosophy; while in the case of history they are mere signs and symbols of events. Without the words which compose the Homeric poems or the Nicomachean Ethics, these works are not conceivable; without Thucydides, Pericles would still have lived and acted, and we might learn these facts from Plutarch or some other source. We can, it is true, treat an historical work from a literary or even a grammatical point of view, and as a matter of fact this is done, and perhaps too much or too exclusively; but then we are not historical. What the historian looks for are the events, and, because it is in a book or on a battle-field that he immediately apprehends them, he is not on that account a philologist or a topographer.

There are intermediate studies within this broad threefold division (see B, in the scheme given below). Much information concerning the Greek and Roman past is derived from inscriptions, and these decidedly represent words; yet of such importance is the material form of the letters, so dependent for recognition are they upon the eye of the student, that they partake of the character of monuments, and so the position of epigraphy really lies midway between philology and archaeology, overlapping into both.

So too ancient topography is a source of much important information. Its aim is to discover the sites of ancient political centres and of the great events of past political life. It derives its information equally from a kind of observation of things and remains belonging to the study of archaeology, more especially of the architectural division, and from the records of historical

[1] The word history might comprise the whole of the knowledge concerning the past; but it is here used in the most restricted acceptation of the term.

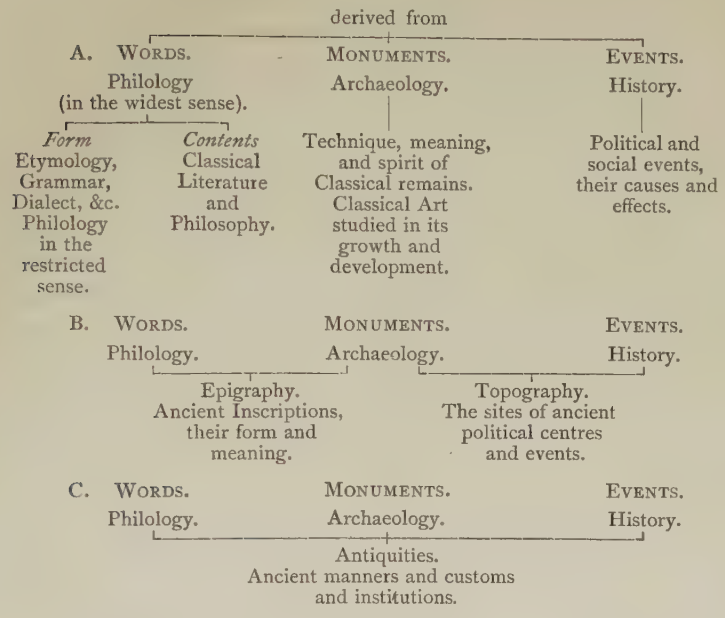
events. In fact it is archaeologically historical or historically archaeological, bringing out the historical bearing of ancient remains and exemplifying and illustrating history by these material testimonies. Its domain thus lies on the border-line between archaeology and history, and like epigraphy, it overlaps into two departments.

Finally, what is called the study of antiquities, gathers its material equally from all these sources and is concerned with the manners, customs and institutions of the ancients (see C, in the scheme below). It uses literature to gather information concerning customs and habits. It views the events of history, not to follow their sequence and their causes and effects, but to collect from this sequence that which remains as fixed institutions; a difference of aspect which can be compared with the difference between constitutional history and constitutional law. It is greatly concerned with the remains of antiquity and to some extent, therefore, deals with the same material as archaeology, and it is therefore not to be regretted that the meaning of the two words is so similar; but it is well that they should be kept apart by the difference of their origin. For the study of antiquities does not deal with monuments as such, with regard to the artistic style or the school, or what we may learn of the spirit of the age from the spirit of the work; but it uses the architectural remains, the statues, vases, coins, &c., as a means to discover the customs of the Greeks with regard to their habitations, public or religious ceremonies, dress, implements of war, peace and commerce, and so helps to elucidate many departments of literature and history, besides giving much information to the archaeologist.

All these branches together constitute the whole sphere of classical learning, and the ideal scholar would be equally conversant with them all, while every scholar ought to study each of them, before he directs his attention more exclusively to the one or the other.

The accompanying scheme will serve to fix this classification in the reader's mind.

SCIENCE OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY



It is hardly necessary to point out that these are not absolute lines of distinction which sever entirely from one another these various branches, for such they are, of one tree. It has been sufficiently indicated how each subject may overlap into the other, and how they may, and do in many instances, offer valuable information and explanation to each other. But it is necessary to define the difference between these divisions of the study; and, in our case, it is most advisable to recognise the position of archaeology in relation to the other spheres of scholarship, that we may be able to define its ultimate aims and the method it has to follow.

The whole department of archaeology, as of every other branch of science, may be regarded from two different points of view: we may view it from without as a whole, as a general study, or from within, in which case we see the working of the parts, as a special study.

As a general study, archaeology is conceived as a fixed and firmly constituted department of knowledge to be definitely used

for teaching purposes, to confer useful information, to foster and to develop in the learners methodical thought, to increase intellectual pleasures in refining the sense of artistic appreciation, and to widen man's sympathies as all (especially the historical) sciences cannot fail to do. It may be also used to supplement other kindred branches of study, such as literature and history; and finally it may complement our knowledge of the entire period of past culture. Nay, in this light it will be one of the main tasks of the teacher or demonstrator to impress the facts which the monuments yield concerning the general spirit of each age and locality, dwelling upon the unity which binds all the various manifestations of one period together, and thus restoring to life that which, when absolutely disconnected in its parts, must ever remain dead.

Here must be presented to the student the fully identified monuments and the well-confirmed facts and instances concerning the history of ancient art, in a chronological, reasonable and intelligible sequence. So far as it is not absolutely necessary to discuss them, all controverted points must be discarded. Archaeology is to be presented in its firm and solid existence, and not in the process and labour of its birth and growth. It need hardly be said that this will be the groundwork upon which the special investigator will have to take firm footing before he begins his onward journey in search of new discoveries, and that the firmer this groundwork is, the greater is the chance of information arising out of special research in unknown districts.

As a special study, on the other hand, archaeology is viewed without any immediate relation to other branches of study or further practical ends. The completion of the inner constitution of archaeology itself in all its parts is the supreme end. This is called research. It is with this that we are chiefly concerned.

Here the chief aim is to increase the number of well-confirmed facts, by adding to them material which has not yet been identified and elevated to the rank of that mentioned under the preceding head. This material upon which the special archaeologist has to work consists of the monuments themselves, and, as subsidiary to these, the literature concerning monuments

and artists. After what has been said above, I need hardly insist that the monuments are the real points of interest, and that we use literature merely to throw light upon them. The passages and authors do but interest us in so far as they throw light upon the works. So too with regard to the biographies of artists; though we may endeavour to learn all about their private life, even as an historian would, yet for an archaeologist it is merely in the light of their works, it is because they were artists, that we desire to know them as men.

The most satisfactory state of things is when literature and monument go hand in hand, when the passages in classical authors concerning works of art and the existing remains confirm each other; the passage giving us definite information concerning the monument, and the monument showing us that the ancient author is to be trusted. This may be called full identification.

But in many instances we are driven to rely upon the literary sources alone. The really artistic paintings of antiquity have all been destroyed, and so we must gratefully accept the descriptions of ancient authors, as enabling us to form some idea concerning them. This idea, of course, will be most perfect, the more we have studied the lower decorative paintings, such as frescoes and vases, and the more complete our knowledge of the other branches of art is. So also many of the great works of sculpture, especially the temple-statues (*ἀγάλματα*), have been destroyed, and here again we are driven back to the descriptions of authors. But if these descriptions are not to be mere words, but are to call forth any image of what the destroyed works were like, our eye must direct our reproductive imagination by means of the extant monuments to construct a picture which approaches the work described. The more our eye is familiarised with the extant architectural sculpture of Pheidias, the more correct will be our imaginary reconstruction of his Olympian Zeus suggested by the verbal description of ancient authors; as a graphic account of a tropical climate will call forth a more real image and sensation in proportion as we have in our travels approached those southern regions.

The greatest abundance of material however is to be found in instances where we have only the monuments without corre-

sponding passages, or with which no such passages have as yet been identified. The museums all over Europe are full of such works, and excavations that are being carried on, continually yield new treasures. And if we compare this mass of unidentified material, which the earnest student cannot, with due regard for scientific morality, ignore, with the comparative scantiness of firmly systematised information, we cannot help feeling how much work remains to be done in this direction, and even that the working power of archaeologists up to this moment has not been properly expended and distributed, and that there must be something radically wrong in their method of research. And so it is. As has been stated, partly as a result of the history of the study itself, most archaeologists, up to the present day, have been too strongly influenced by the philological spirit. The primary impulse was almost always given by the literature and not by the monuments, and so not only did their eyes fail to receive the training which would enable them readily to perceive likeness, and settle similarity and difference in the character of works, but they have, more than that, lost even their original *naïveté* through being prejudiced by what passages led them to see. The result is that observation has not been made systematic and that whenever they do profess to use their eyes, their statements carry no sufficient weight. Though the archaeologist is bound to make use of his literary evidence, his chief task for the future must be to study the actual form and nature of the existing monuments, adopting the methods of observation which the natural sciences have long since supplied. Palpable and manifest as the advantage and urgency of this course must appear to all who have the faintest idea of the nature of the archaeological material, it is still far from being recognised by the great mass of scholars. An inaccurate passage from any miserable scholiast of the 12th century who happened to write Greek, has more convincing power over the word-enslaved minds of many modern scholars than the life-long careful comparative study of form in the things themselves. The same struggle is noticeable in many branches of research which are connected with literature. Yet if this method of the comparative study of form has been so fruitful when applied to plants, animals and man, how much

more is it the case with works of art where the form is at the same time the essence, where the anatomy is at the same time the physiology, the psychology, and sometimes also — the pathology.

Inasmuch as the artist cannot, even if he would, reproduce every detail of things in nature, he must choose, select, accentuate or omit in what he is representing. The units or parts of his work are borrowed from nature, but the choice at least comes from himself, is his own, and this will be modified by the quality of the material he uses, such as wood, clay, stone, bronze, by his national and historical character, his individual nature, and his artistic tact. This we call the style of a school or of an artist. This style differs most distinctly in the various schools of Greek art and in the individual artists. The duty of the archaeologist is above all things to make a careful comparative study of the various styles, and to arrange the monuments which have not yet been identified, in accordance with these laws of form, so as to constitute a morphology of Greek art.

The first thing to be done is to codify the identified monuments which are representative of the work of the various schools and masters. The number of these monuments is at present not inconsiderable, and is growing with every new excavation that is made. These monuments must be carefully studied and compared in their form and the character of their work, and their distinctive features must be enumerated.

To discover the general style of a school or an artist we must bear in mind the difference between the forms that are essential and those that are accidental, between the forms in which the biologist recognises marks of heredity and those in which he sees only adaptation. The general style will be ascertained if we subtract what is accidental from the whole number of its features. To take a definite instance: if we wish to ascertain the style of Pheidias from the Elgin marbles, we must first consider the general character of these works and all the special features of the modelling and the technique. But then we must further bear in mind that it is only in the temple-statues that the pure style of Pheidias comes out, while the Elgin marbles were merely designed by him and executed by others; furthermore, that we only have the pedimental figures and the frieze of the

Parthenon, which belong to architectural sculpture, and merely serve to manifest the decorative[1] style of Pheidias and not the plastic style in the pure sense of the term. This decorative element we must consider as accidental to the general style of Pheidias' work, and we must subtract it from the sum of the attributes if we desire to ascertain the general style of Pheidias. In the pedimental figures again we must bear in mind the individual character of the single figures, which from their special nature may call for a definite treatment which we should be wrong in enumerating as one of the characteristics of the general style of Pheidias. Thus, for instance, if Pheidias represents in the Eastern pediment Iris, who bears the news of the birth of Athene, with drapery flying in the wind (a figure which Pheidias would never have represented as a separate statue), we must consider this flying drapery not as a characteristic of the style of Pheidias but as accidental to it. And here it may be noted that, as in the natural sciences it has been found that what is adaptation in one species of the genus becomes heredity in a subsequent one, so we find that what is accidental in Pheidias becomes essential in Skopas: the decorative style of Pheidias becomes the plastic style of Skopas, and the accidental restlessness of the Iris of Pheidias becomes the essential characteristic of the works of Skopas[2].

[1] As has been said before, one of the most essential attributes of plastic art is that the spirit and unity of the work are to be centred and localised within the work itself. In decorative sculpture however the unity lies within the whole work of which sculpture becomes merely a part, and to a certain extent the strict laws governing sculpture are partly suspended to make room for those governing general decoration. So too relief is not pure sculpture, but really stands on the boundary line between sculpture and painting, and is therefore not exclusively under the laws of sculpture. A pedimental group, though composed of figures in the round, has really the appearance of standing out from its background like very high relief. This, therefore, is not exclusively under the laws of pure sculpture. It will always be found that freedom in attitudes and movement are put into a relief or a pedimental group quite foreign to that in the separate statues of contemporary art. Reforms or degenerations in the representation of the human figure are generally introduced in this class of decorative or modified sculpture.

[2] The Chiaramonti Niobide attributed to Skopas reminds us very strongly in conception and execution of the Iris from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon, only with still greater expression of rapid movement. This, as is evident from the literary description and the extant replicas, was the character of the famous separate statue of the Maenad by Skopas. Pheidias would never in a separate statue have represented Iris as flying and rushing forward.

If we wish then to obtain the general style of Pheidias from the Iris of the pediment, we must subtract from all the attributes of the work those that are due to its being (1) a pedimental figure, and (2) a flying figure, and what remains will be essential to his style.

But sometimes what is to be discovered is the meaning and not the style of the figure, and then of course any attributes or outer marks, such as a sceptre, a thunder-bolt, a caduceus, a wreath, may be of the greatest value; but even here the study of the style may be of immediate use. In such a case, if we know the style, we must subtract it from the general appearance, and the idiosyncrasies that remain may help the unprejudiced observer to a correct interpretation. Thus, if after enumerating the characteristics of the flying figure from the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon, we subtract from them those features of character and style that are common to all the extant figures by Pheidias, the remaining peculiarities will be those indicative of rapid motion, and these will aid us in discovering that this figure represents Iris, the fleet messenger of the gods.

When an archaeological investigator meets with an unknown monument, his course in attempting to identify the monument will have to be, in the first place, carefully to study the style, to weigh all its characteristics, both the spiritual character of the work and the peculiar handling of the material, for instance, the way of indicating the texture of the skin, and muscles, whether the forms are full and round, or scanty and rigid, the peculiar modelling of the hair (for in this no two schools of sculpture are alike), and especially the treatment of the drapery. The hasty observer of sculpture hardly knows how much forethought and how much choice there is for the artist in indicating his drapery. In dealing with this the individual habits of the artist come out most pronouncedly. Folds may in reality fall in any conceivable manner, but still there are only certain definite kinds of folds that will please the eye of the spectator or suit the character of a particular work. Every original artist searches for a long while before he can find a method of indicating this pleasing fall of drapery, and gradually there is formed in him, more or less consciously, a method of attaining this result. This then

becomes his style. If this method is clung to too severely, this habit may arise from early want of freedom, the conventionality of the early stages of art; if it is of a very peculiar and conspicuous nature and is clung to in its sameness irrespective of its propriety in a definite instance, it becomes mannerism. But even the artists who are equally far removed from incompetent conventionality or affected mannerism have all a recognisable individual way of transferring the forms of nature into clay, marble, or bronze. Then, after careful study of these details of style, the archaeologist will have to look among the well-identified monuments for the same style; rather, indeed, he ought to have them firmly fixed in his head and in his eye beforehand from what we have called above his general study of archaeology. He must compare it also with the same style and subject in kindred works of art: if a statue, for instance, he will have to search for analogous cases in coins and vases and terra cottas and gems. Then too he must examine the material itself, the particular kind of marble or of clay or of bronze, which will often afford him more or less helpful indications of origin.

In the special schools of classical archaeology in the universities this method will have to be transfused into the *succum et sanguinem* of the student, not only by means of lectures, but also by practical 'laboratory' work and experiment. The archaeological 'laboratory' ought, in its ideal state, to comprise a great mass of material. It ought to contain: The archaeological publications with plates; architectural, geographical, and topographical charts and diagrams; a full set of important photographs; electrotype series of coins; impressions of gems; above all, a complete museum of important casts, not only of sculpture, but also of representative types of architecture, and also several striking types of Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician, and even modern work, to show the distinctive features of each. These casts should be so mounted that they can readily be moved, so that subjects that are to be compared may be placed side by side. There should also be casts of *fragments* of nude figures and of drapery, which are to be identified by the student and for which a corresponding work is to be found by comparison. Such an archaeological laboratory should also contain a collection of pieces of marble representative of the

various kinds used by the ancients; fragments of bronze and other metal, if possible such as will illustrate their technique in beating, soldering and casting; specimens of the various types of vases and ceramic work; terra-cotta in figures and relief; a few original coins, and gems, and mirrors, and glass; and also some good reproductions of mural paintings[1].

Finally, such a laboratory ought to comprise a small sculptor's studio, in which the special archaeologist is to be taught the rudiments of modelling which are to enable him, not to vie with the artist, but to copy a work which he is studying for its style, and thus to give him the most important advantage of the method of natural science, the experiment. This will be a great help in the attempt at discovering the style of a work of art, for we can learn by experience the method by which it has been made, by which the individual effects upon our senses have been called forth by the artist[2]. These are the means required to implant this method of archaeological research firmly in the special schools.

In the second place, the investigator will have to inquire into the origin, the *provenance*, of the particular discovery; to find, if possible, the diary of excavation, or the note of purchase, or other notes in the museum inventory. If he has ascertained the place where it has been found, he must consider its exact position in the earth, in what building, on what site; he will further

[1] This may sound very ambitious; but attention must be drawn to the fact, that such a collection could be acquired at a comparatively small outlay. Though its great use for purposes of archaeological study chiefly concerns us, there is another noteworthy aspect, namely, the creation of a valuable museum of art, for the town or institution, at an exceedingly low cost when compared with the sacrifices which a museum of original works or even of copies of pictures would demand. Casts have the one great artistic advantage over other classes of reproductive art, that though they never equal the originals in fineness of texture, they are true reproductions moulded on the originals themselves. This consideration must not be ignored by the teacher of archaeology, and he must aim at combining the demands of public taste in the disposition of the works with the exigencies of efficient study. Finally, it must be insisted upon that what we are here describing is an ideal museum. Many original specimens are to be found in some of the collections of large towns. It is not necessary that every archaeological museum should contain either all that has been enumerated or nothing at all. The beginning must be made with what is most important, namely, a museum of casts.

[2] See note A at the end of this Essay.

have to study the topography of the district, and the local history, from all of which he may receive additional evidence, if he has but properly studied the work itself. The character of the work, the site, and any traces of attributes on the figure, or even found near the work, will help him in deciding upon his interpretation, whether god or man, what god[1] and what man, which particular aspect of his nature. He will here have to draw upon his knowledge of Mythology. And finally he must turn to the literary traditions concerning art, and see whether, and to what extent, they confirm or disprove his inference gained by observation of the work itself.

In the greatest number of cases, in the thousands of works lying unrecognised in museums, we cannot hope to find any clue from the records of ancient authors. Instead of shrinking from the difficulties, our very object must be to study their forms and enumerate their distinctive characteristics. We shall then in many cases be able to assign them their place; especially when once the work of putting within the reach of students a well-formed manual of the identified monuments in their natural sequence of time and place has been accomplished, and we can fix in their minds and so lead them to grasp the characteristic style of each epoch and school. The number of such 'representative' monuments is not great, although sufficient to furnish types of the chief schools; and the excavations have yielded and are sure to yield in the future most valuable material for this purpose. The more good research is carried on at present, and the firmer and more highly developed this method grows, the greater will be the facilities for making new discoveries. But this

[1] In the study of art-mythology, the representations of each individual god and hero are grouped together. This is now being done on a large scale by Prof. Overbeck in his *Kunstmythologie*. We are thus enabled to distinguish the various gods and heroes through the type of human form which is given to each. But we may go further than this. A careful study of any one type will show us how it alters in character in accordance with the different age or school or sculptor. So the early Dionysos and Hermes are bearded, while later they are beardless; in early works they are severe, in the great period they are dignified, and later they become sentimental and even effeminate. In later works we notice a tendency to represent figures like Apollo as more and more youthful, to accentuate the woman in Aphrodite, the god of revelry in Dionysos, the god of commerce in Hermes. All these considerations will have to be taken into account by the student who wishes to identify an unrecognised statue.

codified manual is not yet in the hands of the student, and this method of investigation is merely in its first stages. The results attained will not be so plentiful with us as with our successors, who will have the advantage of using as training for future investigation, what now we shall have to discover by means of experience founded on narrower bases. Until this method is firmly constituted and universally accessible, a good deal must depend upon the personal tact and experience in observation possessed by the individual archaeologist. The more this is the case, the greater will be the responsibility resting upon the investigator, not to weaken in the public mind the claims of the method by hasty and incorrect application. Individual errors, however, do not affect the soundness of the method, as little as prejudiced or unpractised eyes will make the use of the microscope superfluous. At all events we must meet important questions that present themselves for solution and not evade them. No science was ever advanced by those who said "no" to every new position, and merely repeated what had the authority of age upon it. It is a common occurrence that those who say "no", or wisely shrug their shoulders, congratulate themselves, if they prove right in having doubted; and if not, they tacitly glide into assent, until they will sometimes even impart as a novelty to the discoverer himself the very truths for the recognition of which he had to struggle with them; so natural a food is proven truth, and so easily is it assimilated with our mental constitution.

NOTE A.

P. 35. "For we can learn by experience the method," etc.

Here it is that Archaeology has a decided advantage for the attainment of exact results over the natural sciences. In physiology, for instance, the experimentalist cannot entirely *create* an organism after nature, he can only reproduce certain functions or phenomena in the given organisms; while the modelling archaeologist who is copying a work, can actually reproduce the whole object and follow and study its process of growth at every stage. The naturalist, on the other hand, has, no doubt, many advantages over the archaeologist, in that the laws of the products of nature are more uniform and recognisable than the laws of the products of art, where human volition and the accidents surrounding human life and the functions of the individual are introduced. Yet the conditions of artistic production are much more determined and outwardly recognisable than 'exoterics' are inclined to believe. Continuity of style (the ancients themselves continually speak of the style of a school and even of a country, such as the Aeginetan or Attic ἐργαστήριον) of the

individual and even of the school, especially in Greek Art, is, as a matter of fact, and as experience shows, so great, that it approaches very closely to physical laws in the mind of one who brings natural ability and *much honest labour* to its recognition. And furthermore the arbitrariness in the formative arts as compared with literature, music, &c., is powerfully counteracted by the necessary introduction of the physical material of artistic expression, and of the means of affecting this material, both (material, tools, and their application) being subject to physical laws, and both counteracting and checking any attempt towards absolutely arbitrary volition on the part of man. Whatever be the causes, the fact remains, that the works of Michelangelo have characteristics which distinguish them even from the Barocco school, that modern Gothic differs from ancient Gothic, modern Pre-Raphaelites from their ancient prototypes, a French boot and glove from an English boot and glove, and a walking-stick made fifty years ago from one made in our days—and that this individuality of characteristics comes out most distinctly in the works of Greek Art. A dealer in leather-ware who at all knows his goods can immediately distinguish between those manufactured in England, in France, in Germany, or in Austria; a connoisseur of lace can immediately tell whether the same species of point-lace is made in France or in Bohemia. Nay, if we but analyse and compare what we see in passing from Paris to London in eight hours, this recognisable difference in the appearance of works of human craft corresponding to the distinct individuality of their makers will be manifest. Consider the aspects of the streets, the dress of the people, the style of the houses, the lamp-posts, the policemen's uniform, the caps of the porters at the station, the leather peaks of these caps, the soles of the boots in each country, all so expressive of the national differences of the peoples; and among those of the same nation again, the difference between the various classes, the city banker and the village schoolmaster, the military man in undress and the labourer; and among the same class the outward differences of individuals, how the one arranges the same tie and the other dents in the same soft hat—and then consider that all this is in a time of manufacture by machinery and with the minutest partition of labour, and the new appliances for manufacture immediately open to all markets, in a time when national differences are dying away and the feeling of humanity is a real motive power, in a time in which the limits of space are shaken off by railroad and telegraph, in a time of equalisation of culture and the stereotyping of character. Now let us turn to the antiquity of Greece, and consider the following three facts: (1) That in the works of Art the form, the appearance, is the very aim, use, and essence of the thing; (2) That the Greeks were of most marked individuality, and that the local and temporal distinctions were most decided and fixed, so that, for instance, the characteristics which the Peloponnesians and Athenians give of themselves in the speeches at Sparta recorded in the first book of Thucydides show them to be in many ways diametrically opposed (characteristics which apply entirely to the works of early Spartan and early Peloponnesian art that are extant); (3) that their art was one of the most specific modes of expression. If we bear in mind these three facts, we cannot fail to conclude that the numerous extant works will be without difficulty capable of being classified and recognised in their distinctive features, if only we bestow a fraction of the attention and interest upon the things themselves which the modern lace-dealer bestows upon his goods—only in a conscious and systematic way, differing from him in that the interest is entirely centred in the knowledge itself, without any ultimate regard to profit or to the immediate utilising of this knowledge, without any ultimate regard to whatever is foreign to scientific apprehension.

ESSAY II.

THE SPIRIT OF THE ART OF PHEIDIAS, IN ITS RELATION TO HIS AGE, LIFE, AND CHARACTER.

αἰσθητὰ ἀΐδια.

Things eternalised.

ARIST. *Metaph.* B. 2. 997^{b}12.

ἐκ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἡ σύνολος λέγεται οὐσία.

What is called existence is the combination of form and matter.

ARIST. *Metaph.* Z. 11. 1037^{a}29.

ESSAY II.

THE SPIRIT OF THE ART OF PHEIDIAS, IN ITS RELATION TO HIS AGE, LIFE, AND CHARACTER.

THE spirit of the art of Pheidias is to be found not merely in the mode in which the conceptions are expressed, but above all in the nature of the things he chooses for expression by means of his art, in the selection he makes among all possible things and events in nature for translation into his artistic language. Or rather it lies in the simplicity and harmony that obtains between the thing expressed and the mode of expression.

In order however that this simple correspondence and harmony between the form and matter of art may exist, it is necessary that the artist should be possessed of all the manipulative skill to express his own thoughts with freedom, as well as that his productive imagination be so well regulated that it never drives the hand to attempt at reproducing anything not by its nature suited to that mode of expression.

Greek sculpture of the earlier archaic period shows as its chief and most manifest characteristic the evident want of skill in handling the material. The most noticeable feature of all these earlier works is the obtrusion of the material (stone or metal), and the mechanism of handling it, upon the senses of the spectator to the detriment of the illusion of form which the artist wished to evoke. The first thing we should naturally say upon examining such a work is: "I see that he *desired*

to represent a man", or, "he felt that muscle correctly and indicated it in this or that manner, with marked or slight grooves of the chisel," or even, "there is a good deal of skill in the modelling of that texture." All these remarks will indicate that the working of the statue, the struggle with the material, is the most manifest characteristic of such a work of art. In a perfect work of art, however, we are not reminded of the technique; it does not obtrude itself upon us to the detriment of the illusion of form. The first remark we make would not be one indicative of the intention[1] of the artist, or the mode of his manipulation; but we should say "What a majestic head of Zeus, what a strong athlete, what a graceful attitude[2]."

The further we proceed in archaic art, the more do we notice, how step by step the artist gains in this power to overcome the resistance of the material, how the obtrusion of the material difficulties upon us gradually diminishes. The artist has no longer to struggle above all things with the means of expression themselves, but he is free to express whatever he desires. The question then is, what things or aspects of things are most suitable for expression in sculpture?

This question is solved by again reverting to and studying the nature of the material used in that art. This may cause some astonishment. We have just been relieved from the struggle with the material, and the great result of the history of archaic art has been stated to be the attainment of freedom of execution. Yet the imperfection of this early art consisted in the obtrusion upon us of the material as the first and most noticeable feature, to the detriment of illusion; and in perfect art we were not primarily and above all reminded of the material, even before we were struck by the form. But it never was the aim of Greek art, to make us wholly unconscious of the material, to make us believe that the forms represented are actually those of a living being and not of a statue. That is not illusion, but deception. Deception was never aimed at by the artists of the good period of Greek art.

[1] Goethe's words "*Man merkt die Absicht und man wird verstimmt,*" sums up the disturbing effect which noticeable intention has upon pleasure based on illusion.

[2] See note B, at the end of this Essay.

If such deception is aimed at, the artist will never entirely succeed for any length of time in making us mistake a representation of a man for a living man; and we are, by reaction, again forcibly reminded of the material, because the would-be deception has challenged immediate comparison between a work of nature and a work of man. Overworked technical skill thus produces the same result as incompetency of technical handling: both forcibly remind us of the material and its handling to the detriment of artistic illusion, though they do this through opposite channels.

As has been pointed out above, the perfection is attained, when full harmony exists between the subject represented and the mode and means of representation. An art like sculpture or painting or poetry, is not at its best, when it merely conveys what it can possibly express; but when it expresses what it can best express. An art does not deal with *whatever is*, it does not take all things as they happen to present themselves (as science must do); but it chooses and selects among all things in accordance with principles inherent in the human mind, and creates a state not of '*what is*,' but of '*what ought to be*.'

In so far the provinces of Ethics and Art, of the Good and of the Beautiful, differ from that of Science, of the True; the two former dealing with ideal states, which they wish to create, with the '*ought to be*'; the latter with the actual state of things which it must recognise, with '*whatever is*.' This is what Aristotle means when he says that art deals with οἷα εἶναι δεῖ.

But this '*ought to be*' which underlies art in general and corresponds to what we might call, in the widest acceptation of the term, Beauty or Harmony, becomes more definite when it is the motive to special and actual arts, the '*ought to be*' of architecture, of sculpture, of painting, of poetry and music. These various departments of art are sufficiently defined for practical purposes, and though all have one ultimate aim, of producing what is beautiful or harmonious, they differ in the modes of producing this effect, and this difference is entirely the outcome of the material means of expression belonging to each art. The '*ought to be*' in the first instance is the perfect harmony between the thing or the aspect of things represented

and the material of representation. The means of expression in sculpture are stone or metal, the things represented are wide conceptions of life.

The great task of sculpture then is, to put organic life into the inorganic material in the most natural and perfect form. It has to choose those aspects of life, which correspond most to the essential and most striking characteristics of stone and metal; and on the other hand it must infuse the material with those forms, which are, if we may say so, most 'sentient,' which are most suggestive of flow and life. These two currents of tasks must meet and blend, and, modifying each other into harmony, must produce a new whole called a work of art. The modelling of this inorganic material, the composition of the parts of the figure must be as near to the appearance of life as possible; while the life that is chosen for representation must in its attributes correspond to the essential characteristics of stone and metal, must be of the most lasting and monumental kind. The two tasks that we shall have to examine in order to appreciate the spirit of the art of Pheidias are, to put it epigrammatically, (I) to vitalise stone and metal, and (II) to monumentalise life.

(I) If we examine an early archaic male figure such as the Apollo of Tenea (Fig. 1), or those of Thera or Orchomenos or Actium, we are chiefly struck with the woodenness[1] and stiffness of the figure, characteristics that would not be strange in a block of stone or a tree-stem or the pillar of a temple; but which strike us as strange, because the thing represented is a human figure. We call a figure wooden and stiff, when it does not suggest to us flexibility and the power of moving (*a*) in the parts of the figure, and (*b*) in the figure as a whole.

[1] I can here only point out in passing, that the technical awkwardness in the earliest stone statues is to be attributed to the fact that the earliest statues in the round were of wood, and that the technique of wood-carving prevailed strongly among the post-Daedalean stone-sculptors of archaic art before a new technique corresponding to the new material had been fully established. For the nature of these earliest works as related to the art of Daidalos, I must refer the reader to some remarks I have made on this art in the *Revue Archéologique*, Feb. 1882, *Dédale et l'Artemis de Délos*.

(*a*) The outward characteristics of the living human figure are flexibility and the power of moving. Flexibility is suggested in the surface of the human form, in that there is a continuity in the rise and fall of this surface, in that the parts do not appear to have been put together but to flow together, so that the whole suggests the power of spontaneous contraction and of movement from within. This power depends upon the nature of the organs and muscles of the human body. Far from being anatomical studies, statues must suggest, by means of the visible modifications of the surface, the presence of the organs, which enable us to breathe, and the muscles, whose contraction gives us the power of moving. This is done by the indication of the rise and fall, the change of surface in its continuous flow, varying in its outer aspect as it covers different forms ; and this is the aim of the perfect modelling of the surface.

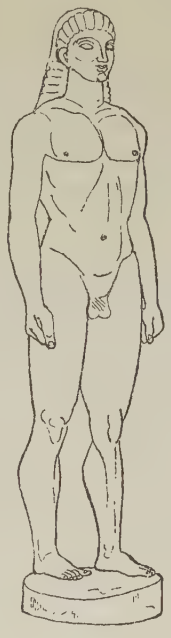


Fig. 1.

Apollo of Tenea. Glyptothek, Munich (marble).

I have said before that this does not mean manifest anatomical study. On the contrary, so soon as the modelling of the surface does not tend merely to produce the effect of living power and action according to the individual nature of the figure represented or the peculiar situation, so soon as this correctness is not merely a means to a further end, but manifestly becomes the end and engrosses the attention of the spectator for its own sake, art is not perfect. This was the case in later Greek art, especially of the Rhodian and Pergamene schools, and it is so to a great extent in our days.

In early archaic art, sculptors had not the power to represent this continuity and organic quality of the surface of the human figure by means of the modelling. It grows considerably the further archaic art advances, in figures like the Aegina marbles, until in Pythagoras of Rhegion and Myron the power

to indicate vitality by means of the modelling of the surface of the human figure attains considerable height.

(*b*) The outward characteristics of a living human figure are furthermore to be found in the relation which the members of the body bear to one another and to the body as a whole. We are struck above all things with the fact that these parts are not mechanically put together, but that they grow together. Now, in statues of the order of the 'Apollo' of Tenea, Thera, Orchomenos, and Actium this effect is not produced. No doubt to a great extent this is to be attributed to the deficient modelling of the surface before alluded to, which does not allow the members to appear to be gradually and continuously joined to one another; but this effect of woodenness and lifelessness is also in great part due to the grosser mode of composition itself, independent of the modelling of the surface. Such statues stand with both feet firmly planted on the ground and equally bearing the weight, the shoulders and hips exactly on the same horizontal line, the head maintaining its central position between the shoulders straightforward at right angles to the chest, the arms symmetrically pinned to either thigh—the whole composition reminding us of some human fabric, say a wall with stone resting upon stone because of certain laws of statics. As soon as we alter this exact relation of the parts of a wall, the structure falls. So long as the composition of the members of a human body suggests the building of a wall of stone, it cannot produce the illusion of life. Whether this be scientifically true or not, our impression of rest and motion in living beings in contradistinction to those of inorganic things, is that their rest and motion appear spontaneous, independent of the broad general laws of attraction and gravitation. A stone wall stands merely because it corresponds to certain laws of statics; a human being stands in the first instance because the individual brings the parts of his body into one of many possible relations which will correspond to certain laws of dynamics and statics. Where a body or thing strikes us as maintaining its unity and position solely because of certain laws of statics, there we cannot receive the impression of the conditions of life. With these early statues we feel that the maintenance of this erect position of the body is

essentially bound up with just that one disposal of the parts and of the weight of the figure; add just one pound to this side or that, and the figure will lose its balance. Though the feet are firmly planted and the arms are pressed to the side, the figure does not impress us with the stability of one resting on one hip, simply because this exact symmetry inevitably calls forth the association of an inorganic structure put together (whose conjunction depends upon just that one relation of the parts and only that) and not of a living individual with limbs grown together. The effect of life is produced when the sculptor deviates from this absolute symmetry, shows that the leg is grown to the trunk by altering the balance in placing the weight upon one leg more than upon the other, that the arms are grown to the shoulders in allowing them to be suspended freely, that the head is organically joined to the neck in allowing it to turn sideways or to droop,—in one word, when he modifies symmetry by the varying flow of life[1]. All these effects were attained in the gradual growth towards perfection in the archaic period of the art of sculpture. Here too we notice considerable freedom in the pedimental figure from the temple of Athene at Aegina, while Pythagoras of Rhegion notably consummated this end, and the 'distortus' Discobolos of Myron is the very antipodes, in this respect, of the 'Apollo' of Tenea.

The first half of the great task of perfect sculpture is accomplished before the time of Pheidias, the sculptor has succeeded in 'vitalising stone and metal;' but the second condition, the 'monumentalising of life' has not yet been realised.

(II) If the sculptor has gained the power to express life by means of the material forms with which he deals, the next question is: what life, or what aspects of life, are most suitable for reproduction in this peculiar language? It will be that life or those aspects of life which correspond most to the essential characteristics of the material used; or, in other words, those aspects of life will have to be avoided, whose essential characteristics are opposed to the lasting and monumental

[1] Compare the paper by the present writer on Pythagoras of Rhegion, published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (Vol. I. 1880, p. 195), and reprinted as Appendix I. in the present volume.

character of the material. For, unless this is the case, the work will be wanting in the chief feature of a work of art, namely, the complete harmony between conception and execution, between form and matter.

Myron's Discobolos (Fig. 2) is in many ways an admirable work of sculpture; and yet there will always be some features that disturb the spectator and do not admit of that complete harmonious and restful impression which is ever the outcome of the contemplation of a perfect work of art. In representing the Discobolos the sculptor has chosen the supreme moment of the game, the moment immediately preceding the catastrophe, if we may call it so. The attitude he thus gives his youthful figure is one which allows the muscles of the body to stand

Fig. 2. The Discobolos of Myron. Palazzo Massimi, Rome (marble).

forth in bold relief and enables him to display great skill in modelling. What is most to be admired in this composi-

tion is the way in which the sculptor has been capable of suggesting, by means of the whole composition of this figure in all its parts, the concentration of energy and of effort on the part of the Discobolos, and of interest and expectancy on the part of the spectator, into that one moment preceding the outburst. As in every good statue, the centre of life and of energy is localised within the work itself, in this case in the centre of the figure towards which all muscles seem contracted.

The Greeks threw the discus not as we throw the quoit, only with arm and shoulder, but by bringing into play and utilising every limb and muscle of the body[1]. Immediately preceding the actual hurling of the discus therefore, there had to be a general storing-up and compression of energy which, when suddenly set free, produced the violence of the projection. The principle is simply that of the spring which, when compressed, shoots out from the centre. The greater the contortion of the body, the more each muscle and sinew is strung towards one centre, the greater will be the impetus when this compression is suddenly set free. It is because of the unconscious association with this simple principle, of which the statue in question is such a perfect and living incorporation, that it strikes us as so convincingly conveying the idea of supreme action. This is carried out in the statue, not only in the way in which all the lines of the modelling indicate the tension of the sinews towards the contracted centre of the body, and the legs, neck[2], and shoulders tend towards the same point when we view the statue from the front; but also, when we walk round it, in the way in which even in the back and sides all lines seem to lead towards that central point, like the spiral contraction of a spring. All this expresses most wonderfully what the sculptor desired to express. But the question remains, whether this is at all worthy of or even suitable for expression in sculpture in the large and round?

[1] This, by the way, is the distinctive characteristic of all Greek Athletics, which cannot be properly appreciated by us unless we bear this in mind.

[2] In the best replica in the Palazzo Massimi at Rome, of which the accompanying engraving (fig. 2) is an illustration, the head is turned back towards the right side and not forward as in the copy in the British Museum.

This is distinctly not the case. However interesting and attractive one supreme moment of exertion may be, if it be essentially transient and momentary, it is not suited to a material like stone or bronze, the most striking characteristic of which is the lasting and unaltering, which we cannot and need not ignore. Myron has expressed with most perfect skill the one moment preceding a violent though no less trivial[1] act; yet he cannot chain this moment of pause, without appearing to lengthen indefinitely the duration of the supreme exertion, or to limit, in our minds, the durability of the material. Both these suppositions are absurd, and therefore the untrained and naïve spectator is quite right when he wishes that "that youth would throw the discus and have done with it," however interesting the statue may be to us in many ways.

Those aspects of life, then, which are in themselves merely momentary and evanescent, as well as those which are essentially individual, which do not necessarily recur, because they do not affect or concern general life (and that is at the bottom of the meaning of trivial), are not suitable for expression in monumental material. The sculptor must seek, and must have the natural feeling for, the monumental aspect of life, that within life which is most lasting; and these aspects are to be found both in physical life and in spiritual life.

In physical life the most lasting is the most general. The idea 'man' suggests longer duration to us than any particular man or group of men, a race more than a tribe, a tribe more than a family, and a family more than an individual man. In physical life the idea of disease, or even of cessation of life, is suggested to us really by some deviation from the normal constitution of the conditions of life. The more normal any individual organism, the more does it suggest continuance of organic existence. Now what we call individuality in contradistinction to generality when speaking of human beings, consists really in certain deviations from the general run of normal beings. The incorporation of all these normal conditions of physical life

[1] We must not, however, forget that the athletic sports which to us are mere play, partook to the early Greeks of a religious character, and that no act connected with the sacred games was to them really trivial.

in human beings is called the Type. The Greek sculptor could readily form in his constructive imagination an individual figure which, true to nature in all its parts, was still the bearer of these characteristics of typical life. Especially amongst the athletes of the Palaestra his eye received impressions of numberless individual forms, which became as it were his materials, with which without an effort he could construct new and great forms, individual works of art unmatched in real life.

It might be supposed, and has been asserted by those who have but a superficial acquaintance with works of Greek sculpture, that this infusion of the general and typical into the Greek sculptor's representation of human life would of necessity lead to some sacrifice of the appearance of the actual, as fixed in our minds through our experience of what we actually perceive in the life surrounding us. This would be true, if it were the only immediate and ultimate aim of the sculptor to produce such a normal type of the human body and nothing more, a mere canon of human proportion. And it would therefore be partly true of such an academical sculptor as Polykleitos, one of whose chief distinctions was to have established a canon of human proportion. It is interesting to note that even the ancients reproached him with a certain monotony, as is evident from these passages: "It is peculiar to him to have made his statues rest upon one leg"; and again: "Varro says that his statues were square and almost according to model[1]"; and finally: "for though he perfected the human form above reality, he nevertheless appears not to have attained to the dignity of gods[2]." The last statement that, though Polykleitos added charm to the human figure even beyond reality, he did not attain to the dignity of gods, affords the answer to the doubt, whether the typifying of physical life may not rob statues of the appearance of pulsating reality. For the physical type will always be modified and vitalised by the spiritual element, the character of a work; and in the

[1] *Proprium ejus est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea tradit Varro et paene ad exemplum.* Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 967 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 56).

[2] *Nam ut humanae formae decorem addiderit supra verum, ita non explevisse deorum auctoritatem videtur.* Overb. *SQ.* 968 (Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* XII. 10. 7).

spiritual there is no fear of absolute sameness. In the physical aspect of a statue all the petty and ephemeral elements will have to be eliminated, in order that it may be capable of being worthily represented in monumental material. It will always have to be a type, though the type will in every case be transfused with some spiritual idea.

Of spiritual life, again, the broadest and most monumental aspect is to be found in that which is common to all men without being entirely comprehended in the individual man. And here we may distinguish the objective and subjective aspects of spiritual life, that is, the outwardly visible manifestations, those that can be perceived by us through our senses, and those that are the effects of such outer manifestations upon the passive mind, which effects we become conscious of by introspection.

In the objective aspect of the spiritual life of man, just as in physical life, that impresses us as most lasting and therefore most suited for translation into monumental material, which is not knit up with the evanescent existence of the individual man; and as in physical life this was called the Type, so in spiritual life it may best be called the Ideal. As in the physical type all the abnormal accidents were eliminated and the parts of the body, all true to nature, were composed into a new harmonious whole, so in the ideal the accidents which disturb the spiritual unity are discarded, and all the individual traits, each true to fact and experience, that tend to express one idea, are combined into unity as we never meet it in real life. These ideals, true to nature in all their constituent parts, which in actual life are never seen combined in organic unity, the Greek sculptor had already before him, in his mind's eye, in the gods and heroes of his religion. These gods and heroes were constructions based upon the real attributes of human beings, the highest conceptions of human qualities. Each of their attributes was common to man, yet their degree and the combination of these attributes in each one were to be found in no one living man. The person, the life, of a god were essentially akin to man and to his life, only they were endless in duration and unaffected by the adversities of passion, like the lasting bronze and the unimpressionable stone. Alexander had majesty, and Pericles had moments of sublimity,

yet these were but moments that were impaired in their pure existence by other peculiar qualities and frailties; but Zeus is sublime and majestic in all aspects of his existence, for he is the impersonation of majesty and power. Alcibiades was graceful and beautiful, yet his vanity and selfishness may engross our attention to the exclusion of his finer qualities; while Apollo ever remains the fairest leader of the Muses. Yet it may be urged that these impersonations of the general qualities of mankind are too limited a sphere for the activity of an art. But not only does each sculptor differ in his productions in accordance with the difference in his own individual conception of these ideas; but also, he may choose the various aspects of these ideal beings, their various modes and character, and even certain incidents of their spiritual life. Which incidents these should be, can best be ascertained from the examination of the subjective aspect of the spiritual life that is most suited for reproduction in sculpture.

In the subjective aspect of spiritual life, we can also distinguish that which is most lasting, or rather that which does not at once suggest to us the transient and ephemeral. There are inner experiences, impressions that we call lasting impressions. They are not those that affect merely a part of our nature, so that we have always attention enough to bestow upon some other stimulus or upon our immediate self, and then glide away without leaving a trace; but they are those that grasp our whole nature and do not momentarily alter only one side or one faculty; those that affect our whole moral constitution to the exclusion of other interests and the immediate self, because they grasp us entire. The difference between these two classes of impressions may be well illustrated by two phrases: in the one case we are pleased or amused, in the other case our whole nature, our soul, is thrilled. Or it may be expressed objectively in the difference between the Agreeable and Pretty, and the Sublime. This analysis must be further limited in that the power of thrilling the soul is not in itself the measure of the suitability for sculpture. For of all the aspects of life, there are two which most readily produce a thrilling effect, namely, violence and pathos. Yet these are in themselves momentary; and for other reasons, which will become evident, these belong

really to the sublime phase of another art, namely the drama. Those ideals of life and those incidents in life which, without being violent, are capable of producing a great and lasting impression upon us, are most suited for incorporation in plastic art. For purposes of great sculpture we are not concerned with the vague and immaterial feelings of spiritual devotion; the grandeur and sublimity which evoke such high feelings must be based upon visible nature and expressed in terms of nature. This corresponds to the plastic spirit of the Greeks, which gave birth to their mythology, as has been shown in the first Essay; and here the votary of the highest art had ready for his creative genius the sensible bearers of these highest qualities, the gods and heroes of Greece.

Pheidias and Æschylus have, both of them, greatness and breadth as the chief characteristic of their work. Yet it is most instructive, for the recognition of the different fundamental principles of their respective arts, to consider the choice of subjects by means of which they impress us with these qualities. Pheidias in his great works always represents gods, Æschylus depicts in bold lines the fate and sufferings of beings from the heroic world. Both ultimately leave one impression on our minds, the experience of something great. In the art with which Pheidias produces these impressions, he works upon our feelings and thought through the channels of those senses which convey to us things that are essentially different from us, are of the outer world, namely sight and touch. The art with which Æschylus produces these impressions of greatness, effects this end by means of a sense which has to us less of the material character, conveys to us rather the immaterial signs of immediate inner thought and feeling itself, which we cannot dissociate from man in general and our self in particular, namely the sense of hearing, and more especially the hearing of human language. In other words, sculpture conveys its effects by means of forms which are essentially not our self, which belong to the outer world, and are in so far opposed to our self; while the drama stimulates us through the immediate channels of our inner experience. Therefore, if a sculptor wished to produce in us the effect of the grand and sublime, he must, in harmony with the material which his art gives him for expression, transcend the sphere of whatever

immediately reminds us of our self, constructing forms that we have never seen before, at least in that combination, and placing before our senses a representation of that which is essentially above us. On the other hand the poet, with the same high aim, can never, from the very nature of his art, transcend the sphere of man's inner experience. If a work of sculpture is meant to call forth in us the highest feelings with regard to human attributes, it will do this the more effectually in proportion as it carries us away from our self, from human frailties and sufferings, into the sphere of gods. Tragedy also may lift us far away from petty life, but it only raises us the higher, the more it is saturated with the true struggles, longings, and sufferings of the human heart. Pheidias leads us into the ideal world by means of forms that we have never seen before, the forms of those that float above human weakness, the Zeus with the nod of whose ambrosial curls earth trembles and the heavens shake. Æschylus too gives the greatest forms to his large figures and leads us into a higher ideal sphere, but through the channels of love, fear, and compassion. We cannot feel love, fear, and still less compassion for the gods, for they float above us, suffer not, nor need our sympathy. The figures of an Æschylus then are above life-size, greater than the immediate world that surrounds us, they are heroes; but they suffer and struggle. And as their strength is greater than man's, so also are their passions and their suffering Titanic. Pheidias's Olympian Zeus thrilled the souls of the ancients and filled their hearts with the sublime; so also did the Titan Prometheus of Æschylus; he too, though greater than man, yet loved man, and rising to the sphere of that Zeus, with whom he dares to struggle, yet suffers human anguish, suffering only as a Titan can suffer, at once gigantically, and for endless ages.

The course I have pursued in this exposition of the principles of the highest sculpture, proceeding as it does from the general to the particular, has been the reverse of the course which has been followed in the actual establishment of these principles; for it is the careful study of the existing remains of classical antiquity and of the causes of their artistic perfection, that has led me to these general principles. I would not there-

fore have it believed that these general principles are preconceived, unfounded, and unfit for practical application. On the other hand, I would not have it believed that it has been my aim to give an exhaustive enumeration of the principles of sculpture, criteria of what is excellent in that art, or in any way a practical guide to modern sculptors. If this exposition were viewed in that light there would be a danger of misapplication. I am not of those who, because they see the greatness of Greek art, spurn all that is modern, and demand of the modern artist that he should slavishly follow the ancients in the choice of their subjects as well as in execution. Such a course on the part of the modern artist would be most un-Greek; for art would not then be an expression of what is highest in the actual life that surrounds the artist. The conditions of our physical, social, and religious life are so different from those of the Greeks, that our ideals must also be different. The one principle however remains: that sculpture, from the nature of the material it uses, must choose the greatest, broadest, and most lasting aspects of life for representation in its material; and modern life will not fail to present these aspects to the sculptor, provided he has the keenness of sight to perceive them, the artistic tact to feel them, the largeness of nature to grasp them, the sensuousness of imagination to embody them, and the power over his hand to reproduce them in his material. The immediate aim of the exposition of these principles has been, to prepare the reader easily to perceive in the art of Pheidias, those qualities which a careful study of his works has forced me to recognise. In keeping with the spirit of his age and with his own character, or rather because of these, Pheidias represents in his works the widest and most lasting aspect of the things of life.

We shall have occasion to note both in the extant works of Pheidias, and in those that have not come down to us, so far as we can judge from the literary records of them, two chief characteristics, width and grandeur coupled with simplicity. It is above all to Pheidias and his works that Winckelmann's perfect summing up of the attributes of Greek works of art applies, "noble *naïveté* and placid grandeur." Coupled with all the grandeur and width is that most striking feature of Greek art, the simplicity which adds to the silent greatness, and gives a

monumental rest to these gods of stone. It arises from that unreflective, unanalytical, unintrospective attitude of mind which drives it simply to do what it feels and thinks with serene spontaneity of action, without analysing its own power, not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." On this account Pheidias is the type of the plastic mind[1] among all artists and sculptors, and this simplicity and unreflectiveness can best be appreciated when we compare him with Michelangelo, who, though possessed of the greatness, lacked the simplicity. The thoughts and conceptions of Michelangelo preceded and ran beyond his active and executive power. This manifests itself not only in his life, not only in the confession of his thoughts in his sonnets, but also in his works. Every one of them tells us the story of struggle; and though so much is expressed, we feel, what he felt so strongly, how much more remains unexpressed in the labyrinthine recesses of his ever active brain. Frequently his heart failed him at the impotency of his sluggish hands, the work remained unfinished, the hand dropped with disgust and depression at the sight of the inane gulf that lies between the thinking and feeling and the doing and creating. His greatness then sought an outlet in numerous spheres of thought and action separately followed and intermingled. When sculpture failed to express all that he felt, he called to aid the pictorial element with which he transfused his plastic works, and when painting was too weak, he strengthened his pictures with plastic forms, spreading over all his works a dim veil of deep thought and solemn poetry. Of this the works of Pheidias have nothing. Grand or sublime or awful as they may be, they are ever serene; they have coupled with all their greatness the truly Greek element of grace, in which the works of Michelangelo are sometimes wanting. It is characteristic that in the passages of ancient authors relating to the statue of the Olympian Zeus, one praises its lofty majesty while another insists upon its benignity and sweetness. The very moment at which Pheidias is related to have represented Zeus, as described by Homer, is that in which he is about to shake his mighty locks, causing the world to tremble; yet the act is that of granting support to his child Thetis who dares to touch his face in imploring his favour for

[1] See Essay I., pref. 14.

her son Achilles. In all his works there is that simplicity which is ever the outcome of the perfect harmony between the conception and the power of expression, between the spiritual aim and the physical means, between form and matter. But man, even the great man, is not isolated or unaffected by his surroundings, and the spirit of his age. On the contrary, the greatest men are the most perfect incorporations of the spirit of their age, and we must, before all things, study and recognise the spirit of the age, of which Pheidias was the child, in its bearing on the character of his genius.

The chief features of the age of Pheidias are those of grand and powerful life, conducive to width of thought and feeling coupled with simplicity of purpose and action[1].

Pheidias was born about 500, and died about 430 B.C. About the time of his birth began the contest between Greeks and Persians in the Ionian revolt, and this brought flocks of refugees from the Ionian cities to Athens, placing before the eyes of the Athenians a varied culture, and with it the widening feeling of a relationship with that which was in many ways so different from themselves. When he was a boy of ten years of age, the news of the victory of Marathon thrilled the hearts of the Athenian people, and must have left its broad stamp of heroism upon the impressionable mind of the strongly feeling boy. When a youth of twenty, three of the most stirring events in history were crowded into the period of a little more than a year: the battle of Thermopylae, the victory of Salamis, and the final overthrow of the Persian supremacy at Plataeae, and Mykale. It is more than likely that Pheidias himself took an active part in some of these great struggles.

The effect of the Persian war upon the political spirit of the Greeks may be summed up in two words: width (of vision), and definiteness (of purpose). For the time being the narrow limits of the cramped interests of each individual state were torn down; the Athenian felt the ties that united him with the

[1] See a short sketch of the age of Pheidias as distinguished from the age of Praxiteles by the present writer in a paper on 'Praxiteles and the Dionysos-child from the Heraion at Olympia,' published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, for 1879.

Spartan, so different from himself in many ways; all the Greek states, however closely defined a civic community may have been, were impressed with the reality of the brotherhood of race, of that which physically binds individual communities together, over and above the boundary lines of the geographical district which their eyes have seen and their feet have wandered over. In this period of Pan-Hellenic unity they could not feel the narrowness of the interests of the petty state, or party, or family, or self; they saw the strength and realised the blessings arising from an united Greece over which floated, as superhuman guardian, the Pan-Hellenic Zeus, a divinity really only conceived by the religious imaginations of the united Greek people after the Persian victories. But this feeling of width and grandeur did not arise from a merely inner idea, or consume itself in the inner recognition and admiration of its own lofty flight; it was the outcome of a great immediate need, and had before it a real and physical aim of strong action and exertion. The Persian foe was at their very doors. The unity of Greece was called forth by the common feeling of danger, and it had to manifest its virtue in the combined exertion to overthrow a powerful foe. While widening their vision it made them feel the force of action and the power of man doing his best.

And when the war was over, while lifting their souls on high with the enthusiasm of victory, there was no room for idle luxury in Athens; for the victory had brought with it the total destruction of their homes and city, and, filled with this high spirit and with all the vast experience of a great history, the Athenians were forced, as it were, to re-colonise their own country; to begin life again, as backwoodsmen instinct with long culture and old traditions of home, as an ancient community moved with the new tasks, vigour, and energy of emigrant settlers. It is the combination of these two apparently contradictory elements, a combination unparalleled in the annals of the world, which lies at the root of the splendid growth of the Periclean age. No wonder that such an age was productive of the greatest works in all spheres of culture, and that all these works bear stamped upon them the great sign and token of width and grandeur. An Æschylus with the largeness and boldness of his types of human character, that stand forth like

great monuments in their massive forms, a Pindar with the heroic tone of his lyrical lays, stronger and more lofty than they are sweet or feeling, an Anaxagoras in whose philosophy the infinite particles are all set in motion by the one great conception of a world-soul, all these, however varied and opposed to one another their forms of thought may be, have in common the largeness which emanates from that great age.

We can thus imagine how a boy, gifted by nature with strong impulses, a receptive heart, a rapid intelligence, and a creative imagination, should, from the earliest age, be imbued with the spirit of greatness: how the youth was affected by the stirring events of the overthrow of the Persian supremacy, and how his desire for work and for the effectuation of his inner great feelings in outer production would be nurtured by the activity and energy which surrounded him at the close of the war. The rebuilding and fortification of Athens, begun by Themistocles, and completed by Kimon, who also began to adorn the city, presented a spectacle of activity and work, of which history rarely presents an equal display. From all parts of Greece and Asia Minor artisans and artists flocked to Athens, sure of finding occupation and remuneration. And the wealth of Athens enabled the people to undertake whatever they desired, and to carry into effect whatever they undertook. A double wall was to be built from Athens to the Piraeus, as well as one of equal height round the Piraeus five miles in circumference. It was done. Expenditure of labour and of money were of no consideration. Something conceived by an imagination saturated with well-balanced thought, whose conceptions, however lofty, were never fantastical, had to be realised; and there was no question of weakness or powerlessness for the victors of Marathon and Salamis.

An artist bred in this world of human exertion and of its products, surpassing all that ordinary minds were accustomed to expect, could but feel the desire for great, immense works, such as should correspond to the simultaneous uprising of a whole nation for the purpose of peaceful exertion; as the interesting small picture of the Dutch artist corresponds to the thrifty occupation of a well-to-do and portly merchant 'house-father' in the domestic Netherlands. Moreover, the great wealth of the

Athenians after the Persian war did not have the effect of producing the luxurious habits which lead the oversatiated imaginations of Oriental monarchs to that which is opposed to reality and to nature, namely the fantastical and pompously decorative, but it ever remained simply a means to bring out to the highest degree those qualities in which nature showed herself admirable. Wealth itself was never worthy of admiration for its own sake, but became so only when it took the form of that which was spiritually admirable, of which it heightened the splendour.

The realisation of these great artistic conceptions, which were growing and budding in the mind of Pheidias, was reserved for the time of Pericles, the most striking figure which stood out boldly against the softened after-glow of the resplendent noontide, the war-like glory of the Athenian people. The dwellings of Athens had been rebuilt, the needed homes were established, the walls were completed, and security was afforded to the city which now supplied the needs of daily life. There was now room for artistic adornment. Already Kimon had begun this work. But with Pericles this task of the artistic decoration of the city became the one great aim, as under Themistocles its fortification had driven all the citizens to united action. His subtle taste and delicate tact, combined with his universal culture and practical energy, made him the fittest person to help and encourage a genius like Pheidias, as they enabled him to detect this genius, insure his services, and join in friendship with the man. Under Pericles Pheidias became not only the chief sculptor but the counsellor of the political leader in all matters of public work, the supervisor or, as we might call it, the Minister of Public Works.

This friendship, so productive of culture, which bound to Pericles men like Anaxagoras and Pheidias, could not but make them in the end the sharers in the fate and adversities of the great political leader. Nay, the less powerful friends were the most convenient marks for the wrath and envy of political opponents, who could not venture to attack openly or hope to succeed in overthrowing the most powerful and popular citizen of Athens, though they could wound him in striking at his friends. So both Anaxagoras and Pheidias were banished, the former

on the plea of atheism, the same that subsequently was brought against Socrates, the latter on that of sacrilege and dishonesty. With the first of these two charges against Pheidias, in which the sacrilege consisted in that he had given his own likeness and that of Pericles to the figures of two Lapithae in the relief representing the battle between Greeks and Amazons on the shield of the Athene Parthenos, the opponents of Pericles and Pheidias failed. In the second charge they were more successful. It is inconceivable that even modern critics should still believe that Pheidias was guilty. One would have thought that the most superficial acquaintance with Greek history and with the violence and unscrupulousness of party spirit in the period immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War would have shown that such charges, though sometimes successful, were as frequent as they were unfounded. The mere fact of a previous charge having been brought forward without success ought to show us that there was at work the persevering spirit of animosity, the aim of which was the ruin of the person more than the establishment of justice. That Pheidias and Pericles anticipated such personal attacks is evident from the fact that upon the advice of Pericles Pheidias so arranged the gold of the Athene Parthenos, some portion of which he was accused of having embezzled, that it could be taken off and weighed, and that this test was applied in his favour during the suit[1]. It appears moreover that his accuser Menon, the chief witness against him, was bribed by the political intriguers; for we hear[2] that he was freed from taxes and was to be protected against the wrath of the people by the *strategi*. Finally, it is inconceivable how the people of Elis could have received a felon with such honour, however great his genius; how they could have conferred upon his descendants the sacred office of keeping in order the gold and ivory statue of the Olympian Zeus, and have retained his very workshop in the sacred Altis, as may be seen in the

[1] Plutarch, *Pericl.* xxxi. (Overb. *SQ.* 630); in a Scholion to Aristoph. *Pax* 605 (Overb. *SQ.* 629) he is accused of embezzling ivory. Nay, in his speech recorded in the second book of Thucydides, Pericles refers to the gold of the statue, forty talents in weight, which the people might use.

[2] Plutarch, *ibid.*

discovered ruins of Olympia[1]. When we consider all these circumstances we cannot hesitate for a moment to reject the fables concerning the guilt of Pheidias[2].

All this surrounding greatness and simplicity of action and purpose was no doubt favourable to the development and growth of the artistic imagination of Pheidias, to the conception of and desire for great works, to the fostering of a lofty imagination modified and kept in health by the continuous presence of the practically possible. But these desires and predispositions, which give their tone to the artist's productions, when once he has mastered the technicalities of his art, are not enough in themselves actually to produce great works of art; they can only take effect and bear fruit when the artist has gained the power to express in the material forms of his art whatever his eye meets with in nature and considers worthy of such expression. We have seen before in the general survey how sculpture in Greece had, previously to Pheidias, gained this power of technical expression. Pheidias individually had every opportunity of receiving and acquiring these technical advantages and of advancing upon his predecessors even in this direction.

The more general circumstances, which were conducive to an advance in the technical sphere of sculpture were manifold.

In a negative way, the Persian wars and the ensuing revival and renewal of activity at Athens were conducive to an emancipation from the strict bonds of school tradition. In Myron, who in time and by nature bore the impress of this very period immediately succeeding the Persian war, and did not reflect that softer after-glow of which I have spoken above, this revolutionary spirit is carried into effect. That which was heroic in the energetic reconstruction of the city and its fortifications was too restless and positively active for the more moderate and passive spirit conducive to art-production. With Myron this earlier time fell in with the period of his chief productiveness; with Pheidias it coincided with his years of "storm and pressure,"

[1] This has now been identified, with the greatest probability, in the remains of a small building to the north of the temple of Zeus in the recently discovered ruins of Olympia. See *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, III. page 29 seq.

[2] See note C at the end of this essay.

and did but strengthen the normal impulses of that period of life in which restless striving is natural.

In a positive way, the new impetus that was given to the Palaestric exercises and the sacred games (especially those of Olympia and the Panathenaic festivities) and the growing custom which had begun in the time of the Peisistratidae of associating sculpture immediately with these games in making it commemorate the victories, were among all events and institutions those which most immediately advanced the study of the human figure and its representation in the sculptor's material. Furthermore the numerous public buildings which were erected in those times and had to be adorned with plastic decorations, taxed the sculptor's manipulative skill in all directions, even in those which from natural indolence and unconscious intellectual cowardice the purely spontaneous workers are liable to neglect. It provided the inestimable blessing of a moderate amount of outer compulsion. Some definite space of prescribed form had to be filled with figures either in the round or in relief: the eye was thereby disciplined in composition, and the hand in execution. It is highly probable that the Metopes of the Parthenon represent partly such a trial sphere for Pheidias[1]. Finally we must not forget that Athens was, and since the war had become still more, the central point through which passed all the roads by sea and land from all directions; and that the refugees who flocked there brought with them not only their work but also their peculiar modes of technique. The artistic votive offerings and dedications from the north and east to Olympia, and from the south and west to Delphi, passed through Athens and trained the eyes of the Athenian sculptors.

The technical training of Pheidias in particular was of the most favourable kind. Though the age in which he lived encouraged his emancipation from the shackles of school, he did not, as is often the case with a barren 'genius', begin with opposition and ever continue in it; but he began with the regular *school*, which forced upon him its priceless training, and then at least he had something positive upon which his original power could exercise itself, could fix, modify or in part cast away what

[1] See Essay III.

the school had given him. And this schooling could not have been more happy. His first teacher was the Athenian Hegias[1], the sculptor of the first group[2] of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, erected about 508 B.C. His second teacher[3], and the one who probably had the greatest influence upon him, was the famous Argive sculptor Ageladas, the teacher also of Myron and Polykleitos. It was at Argos that he chiefly received the advantages of a strict academical, nay, old fashioned technical treatment, characteristics which so markedly distinguish archaic Peloponnesian art from the early Attic. The archaic Attic art, though manifesting a more vivid sense for vitality and naturalism and rhythm, is wanting in a sense for composition, law of form and symmetry. The very fact of his having undergone the discipline of two distinct schools, which taught him how to obey others, and thus to make his own imagination and hand obey him, made it easy for him to avoid the idiosyncracies, tricks, and conventionalities of one school, and to feel himself free in introducing innovations even in the more formal side of his art, as he notably did in the treatment of drapery. But even in this point he must have learnt much from the painter Polygnotos who made considerable advance in the indication of folds in drapery[4]. Polygnotos held a relation to Kimon similar to that of Pheidias to Pericles. In the works of Pheidias there is evidence that he studied and knew the principles of pictorial art. Herein we may trace a general influence upon his youthful training exercised by Polygnotos.

With all this course of special training in the craft side of his art he ever found time to cultivate his susceptibility, appreciativeness, and active comprehension of the other spheres of thought and culture, as is evident from his intimacy with Pericles, his friendship with Anaxagoras, and his acquaintance with the works of the great poets. Without robbing him of *naïveté* of feeling and the freshness of a constructive imagina-

[1] *SQ.* 755 (Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 551, p. 282).

[2] *SQ.* 453 (Lucian, *Rhetor. praecept.* ix.).

[3] *SQ.* 393 (Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 504); *SQ.* 398 (Suid. *v.* Γελάδας); *SQ.* 622 (Tzetz. *Chil.* vii. 929); and *SQ.* 399 (*Chil.* viii. 325).

[4] See Brunn, *Geschichte der Griech. Künstler* II. pp. 28, 29; *SQ.* 1053 (Lucian, *Imagg.* 7); *SQ.* 1076 (Aelian. *Var. Hist.* IV. 3).

tion, these varied interests and occupations, far from infecting his artistic creativeness in leading him to attempt immediately to introduce some one instance from the other spheres of culture (which is the case only with those who have but just begun half to understand such facts from an unknown region of thought), had the one great effect of widening his intellect, giving a loftier stamp to his conceptions, and making him more completely and entirely a representative of the spirit of his age[1].

And yet the mastery over the technical side of his art, which enabled him to represent freely whatever he desired to represent, never led him, as it generally does lead artists in the period of decline or exaggeration of an art, to be carried away by his manual skill into making the display of this dexterity an end in itself, so that that appears most admirable which is most difficult to perform, and this difficulty becomes the measure of the value of the work. The chief characteristics of the works of Pheidias are never the technical skill or the manipulative power, but are those of a moral nature, namely, grandeur and width coupled with simplicity, which we shall now be able to recognise in studying the works that are extant and the records of those that have not come down to us.

The works of Pheidias are, and have been since Preller's[2] disquisitions, most naturally divided into three groups corresponding to three periods of his life. The first group consists of those that belong to the period immediately succeeding the Persian war, and fall chiefly in the time of Kimon; the second falls in the age of Pericles, Pheidias's great activity at Athens; the third includes those which were brought forth during his sojourn at Elis.

The works of this first period have as a common feature that being brought forth under the immediate influence of the past great victories, they all are in some way immediately affected by these events, and, as they were destined to commemorate these victories, have a distinct relation to them. These works are: (1) A set of thirteen figures in bronze at Delphi[3], Miltiades

[1] See the last pages of Essay V.

[2] *Hallische Encyclopaedie* iii. 22, pp. 165—203.

[3] *SQ.* 633 (Pausanias x. 10, i.).

in the centre between Athene and Apollo, with five Athenian heroes, Theseus, Kodros, and others, following on either side, arranged in a semicircular position. (2) An Athene at Pellene[1], of which little is known. (3) The Athene Areia at Plataeae[2], erected out of the money (eighty talents) paid by the other states to the Plataeans for their valour. This statue was akrolithic, that is, covered with gold drapery while the nude parts were of marble. (4) The colossal Athene Promachos on the Acropolis[3]. The exact height of this statue is not ascertainable, inasmuch as recent researches[4] have shown the unfoundedness of the hypotheses formerly proposed. Nevertheless this bronze figure, 'the great Athene' (*τὴν μεγάλην*), as Demosthenes calls her[5], must have been of considerable dimensions, certainly over thirty feet in height. The sailors saw her from the sea, she was the first to welcome them home[6]. Athene in all these statues is conceived rather in her warlike aspect, she is the protectress of the warlike Greeks. The Athene Promachos was fully armed, and, if not actually in the attitude of advancing upon her foe, her position was at least suggestive of the power to do so. And the other statues were most likely represented in the same way.

Quite a different conception of Athene is met with in the statues belonging to the second period, in which Pheidias appears first to have become himself and to have manifested the true spirit of his art. Here it is rather the peaceful and benignant side of the goddess that is brought forward. To this period belong the decorative sculptures of the Parthenon, the chryselephantine (gold and ivory) statue of the Athene Parthenos[7], the Virgin Athene; the Aphrodite Ourania[8], and probably most of the works to which no exact date can be fixed, some of which however may have fallen into the third period.

[1] *SQ.* 634 (Pausan. VII. 27, ii.).

[2] *SQ.* 635 (Pausan. IX. 4, i.); *SQ.* 636 (Plut. *Aristid.* 20).

[3] *SQ.* 637—644.

[4] Michaelis, *Mittheilungen des deutschen Arch. Institut's zu Athen* II. p. 88 seq.

[5] *De Falsa Legat.* p. 428, § 272.

[6] The statement in Pausanias (I. 28, ii.), that the sailors saw the point of her spear and the top of her helmet upon rounding Sunium, must not be taken verbatim. This could not well be possible for topographical reasons.

[7] See Essay VIII.

[8] *SQ.* 691 (Pausan. I. 14, vii.).

These are the Lemnian Athene on the Acropolis[1], so widely famed for its beauty, a bronze Athene mentioned by Pliny[2], a Hermes Pronaos at Thebes[3], an Aphrodite in marble mentioned by Pliny[4], an Amazon for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a work with which Pheidias contended with Polykleitos and Kresilas and Phradmon[5]; and finally, two draped statues and one nude, all of bronze, mentioned by Pliny as being in Rome[6].

To the third period belong the Olympian Zeus in his temple at Olympia[7], a gold and ivory Aphrodite Ourania in a temple at Elis[8], and the statue of a victor at Olympia, binding the taenia round his brow[9].

To realise the spirit of the art of Pheidias exhibited in the works that have not come down to us we are chiefly concerned with three of these works: the Athene Parthenos, the Lemnian Athene, and the Olympian Zeus, of two of which, the Parthenos and the Zeus, the fullest and most numerous accounts have come down to us in the writings of the ancients.

In the Athene Parthenos, dedicated in her temple in the year 438 B.C., Pheidias has represented the peaceful aspect of the great goddess; and yet, in harmony with the largeness of the material forms he has used (it was about 34 feet in height) and the height and splendour of the material (gold and ivory), he did not conceive her merely as the virgin, making her maidenly charms the most striking feature, but brought out that side of maidenhood which is greatest, the strength of purity. Therefore, from the point from which we are just now viewing the art of Pheidias this work is most instructive. Maidenhood does not essentially call forth in us the idea of grandeur. The feelings corresponding to it would, in the first instance, rather be those corresponding to lowlier qualities, those evoked by

[1] *SQ.* 758—764.
[2] *SQ.* 765 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 54).
[3] *SQ.* 766 (Pausan. IX. 10, ii.).
[4] *SQ.* 767 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXVI. 15).
[5] *SQ.* 768 (Lucian. *Imagg.* IV.); *SQ.* 946 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 53).
[6] *SQ.* 769 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 54).
[7] See below, and more fully in Essay VIII.
[8] *SQ.* 755 (Pausan. VI. 25, i.); *SQ.* 756 (Plut. *Coniug. Praecept.* 32).
[9] *SQ.* 757 (Pausan. VI. 4, v.). I do not mention works of which the attribution to Pheidias is doubtful.

the Lovely and the Charming. Yet there is one aspect in which the effect produced in us may partake of greater dimension and intensity, that is, when the essentially pure qualities are brought out to the highest degree and bring before us the strength of purity and of serene unconsciousness, the power of simplicity. We are predisposed to be impressed with sublimity and power in the representation of a Zeus, but in the virgin goddess this can only be attained in making us forget the woman in our adoration of the maiden. It must be the glorification of simplicity. That Pheidias succeeded in this is shown by the references to the statue by the ancient authors as simply the maiden, ἡ Παρθένος. In another work they may praise above all things the charm of the bodily forms, in her it is simply the virgin, the powerful protectress of the Attic people, the daughter of Zeus, that is admired. No doubt Pheidias added to this effect by the accessory attributes; for, though she was not in full armour, she wore the helmet and the aegis; and her arms, shield and spear were ready by her side. But still, however huge in dimensions, however brilliant in the material that took her form, this statue never could suggest a Hera, the womanly queen of gods and men, and still less an Aphrodite; to the eyes of the Greeks she ever remained the virgin daughter of Zeus.

And still Pheidias in his manysidedness was able also to represent the smaller and more human aspects of the maiden goddess; but then, with the tact of the great artist, he turns to smaller dimensions and simpler material (bronze). This we find in the Lemnian Athene. Here it is chiefly the beauty which attracted admiration, nay the spectator was even allowed to analyse and to define this beauty. So Lucian, whose attitude of mind with regard to beauty was rather that of a worldly connoisseur, admires in her chiefly the contour of the face, the soft modelling of the cheeks, and the well-shaped nose; and Himerius[1] notices the delicacy of the modelling of the cheeks, and says that Pheidias cast a soft rosy tint over the cheeks. But even in all this analytical praise, it is still the head upon which the admiration is concentrated.

[1] *SQ.* 761 (Himerius, *Orat.* XXI. 4).

The work however in which Pheidias appears to have been most himself, was the Olympian Zeus. It is here that he distinctly brought out the qualities of his art to which we have drawn attention before, those which were recognised by the ancients. An oracle[1] addressed to Sulla combines Beauty (*τὸ κάλλος*) with Grandeur (*τὸ μέγεθος*), as the chief characteristic of this work. Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] praises in it its solemnity, grandeur, and dignity (*τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον καὶ ἀξιωματικόν*). And still with all its grandeur it had perfect simplicity, as is shown by the effect it produced upon others, who were chiefly struck with the beauty and sweetness (the *χάρις τῆς τέχνης*) of the "peaceful and benign" god. Its effect upon the spectator was quite magical: Arrian[3] and Dio Chrysostomos[4] look upon it as a magic draught which banishes all care and pain. "I think," says the latter, "that even a man who is quite cumbered in spirit, who in his life has drunk often of the cup of adversity and sorrow, and to whom even the sweet solace of sleep never comes,—I think that even he, when he stands before this statue, forgets all the cruel and alarming accidents that beset the life of man. So happy hast thou (Pheidias) been in inventing and contriving a spectacle that is simply

> Grief's cure, vexation's antidote,
> Making forgetfulness of every care[5].

and such surpassing radiance and charm has thy art conveyed to the work." Pausanias[6] relates the story that, when Pheidias had completed his work and implored Zeus for a token manifesting whether he was contented with the work of the artist, Zeus sent through the hypaethral opening of the temple flashes of lightning, and a slab of black marble on the white pavement of the temple indicated to posterity the spot where Zeus had marked his approbation of his image. Plotinus[7] says that "Pheidias had conceived Zeus in his imagination as Zeus would have been if he had appeared to him face to face." Even upon

[1] *SQ.* 720 (Plut. *Syll.* xvii.).
[2] *De Isocr.* p. 95, Ed. Sylb.; Brunn, *Gesch. d. Gr. Künstler* I. p. 204.
[3] *SQ.* 727 (Epict. I. vi. 24).
[4] *SQ.* 707 (Dion Chr. *Orat.* XII. 51).
[5] Hom. *Od.* IV. 221.
[6] *SQ.* 696 (Pausan. V. xi. 70).
[7] *SQ.* 716 (*Ennead.* V. viii. p. 1002. Ed. Creuzer).

a Roman like Aemilius Paullus the statue had the same effect, for it appeared to him either that he saw the embodiment of the Zeus of Homer, or that the god himself was present[1]. We meet with similar expressions, concerning the images of gods in general by the hand of Pheidias, in numerous authors. But finally the most instructive and definite statement of the effect of the statue is given by Quintilian[2] when he says: "that Pheidias is held to be a greater artist in the fashioning of gods than of men, and that his Zeus had even added to the existing religion a new element, so closely does the majesty of the work approach the god himself."

This "added" is most instructive. When we approach a modern work of art[3], even of the most excellent type (we may perhaps except some of Turner's landscapes), what is it we generally find? If true, some scene, some figure, some mood is recalled to our memory, only purified and freed from any of the disturbing surroundings that dwelt with that actual sight. We may be carried away by the poetic mood which the work creates in us. But do we really see anything new, before unseen, really *created?* Do the forms and the things and the scenes that the painter or the sculptor represents to our eyes, if they ever do attain the highest and most beautiful that we can conceive of, that our imagination, or inner eye, has shown us whether in day-dream or night-dream—do they ever surpass this higher power of our inner conception? I venture to say 'No.' But it is not enough for the great artist that he should have the power of executing and realising more or less adequately the inner conceptions of the generality of men. The stress in that case is put exclusively upon the power of expression

[1] *SQ.* 725, 726, 729 (Polyb. *Exc.* XXX. 15, 3; Plut. *Paull. Aem.* 28; Liv. XLV. 28).

[2] *SQ.* 721 (*Inst. Orat.* XII. x. 9).

[3] I should like it to be understood that it is not primarily with a view to a comparison of merit between ancient and modern art that I adduce this parallel. When we consider modern art in its relation to modern times and their spirit much could be said in its favour. It is merely to convey a notion of the spirit of a certain class of art to which the works of Pheidias belong, what the French call *le Grand Art*, that I dwell upon the difference between the Art of a Pheidias and modern Art. There is no doubt that this 'Great Art' is not adequately represented in our times, and the reasons for this are chiefly to be found in the surrounding social, political and economical circumstances. (See Note at the end of Essay VIII.)

and not of conception; though there the power of expression is no doubt of the greatest importance and a *fundamental premiss* to artistic work. But the great artist must also have a finer inner sight, a subtler creative organisation, a loftier productive imagination, than ordinary man, and must have the power to reproduce this in his work, so that, when the spectator stands before it he must feel its meaning, and, without effort, have presented to his imagination, through the channels of his outer senses, higher, more harmonious, more beautiful forms than he has ever constructed for himself within. Whatever may be the sphere of things and events, and aspects of things and events which the artistic representation relates to, it must transcend, in its way, the ordinary conception of the daily experience of every-day men. If it be a religious subject it must work religious feelings that have never been felt before. Before Pheidias (and we may say after him too) whatever degree of perfection sculpture had arrived at, the temple statues were to a certain degree mere idols, even in the modern acceptation of the term. They were rather the symbols for religious exaltation, the physical stimulants to inner religious moods, but the surplus constituent of devotion was presented by the inner religious imagination, and was not essentially determined by the materially artistic incentive. In other words, the devotee brought more religious sentiment into the temple than was offered him by the spirit which emanated from the sacred monument of the god.

But upon viewing the Olympian Zeus the spectator received more than he could possibly have brought. The form of the majestic figure, the grandeur of the perfect brow, over-shadowed by its massive locks, the sweetness and benignity of the smile, the colossal dimensions all but overpowering the perceptive faculty of the eye, the power, the brilliancy, and above all the beauty, shed forth by this more than human form, must have moved the senses beyond the experience of previous sensations, must have filled the emotions with unfelt vibrations, must have called forth thoughts that had never before been combined into one conception, and even then through their overpowering greatness merged into one huge feeling, that of the sublime. This is meant when Quintilian says that "Pheidias added some-

thing to the received religion," and this it is that constitutes the ideal in art. It is the archetype of things and feelings, higher than any one particular individual, in fact, one of Plato's Ideas, one of those conceptions which Aristotle, in speaking of Plato, characterises as *αἰσθητὰ ἀΐδια*, that is, things perceptible to the senses (and therefore temporal) translated into the sphere of eternity. This relation between the art of Pheidias and the Platonic Ideas is expressed directly by Cicero, when he says that "Pheidias did not fashion his Zeus after any single man, but that there had been in his mind some perfect picture of beauty, which he had contemplated, with which he had entirely filled himself, and which had directed his hand. But this image, he says, is nothing more than the Platonic idea, of which Plato says that it has no birth, but is ever existing and rests in the human reason and understanding (*ratione et intellegentia*)[1]."

All these great effects however were produced by the simplest means. The greatness of the Zeus never led to an exaggeration of any part of the body to the detriment of the simple harmony of the whole, to any contortion of the figure, no excessive accentuation of one side of the whole figure, which was fashioned in strict accordance with the truth in nature. And so it is that along with this lofty praise of the spiritual qualities the ancient authors do not fail to add the more sober praise of the correctness in composition and execution. It is the beauty (*τὸ κάλλος*) which is connected with the grandeur (*τὸ μέγεθος*), in the above quoted oracle, which points to this harmony of proportion, so that the sublime and awful can still be harmonious and beautiful. It is the grace (*χάρις*),

[1] *Orat.* 2. 9. Nec vero ille artifex, cum faceret Iovis formam aut Minervae, contemplabatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. Ut igitur in formis et figuris est aliquid perfectum et excellens, cujus ad cogitatam speciem imitando referuntur ea quae sub oculos ipsa cadunt, sic perfectae eloquentiae speciem animo videmus, effigiem auribus quaerimus. Has rerum formas appellat ideas ille non intelligendi solum sed etiam dicendi gravissimus auctor et magister Plato; easque gigni negat et ait semper esse ac ratione et intelligentia contineri, cetera nasci, occidere, fluere, labi, nec diutius esse uno et eodem statu. Quidquid est igitur de quo ratione et via disputetur, id est ad ultimam sui generis formam speciemque redigendum.

that Dio Chrysostomos praises; while Demetrius[1] mentions that it is a characteristic of the works of Pheidias to have not only the grandeur (*τὸ μεγαλεῖον*) but the correctness as well (*τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἅμα*).

All these great works however have been destroyed, and nothing more remains of the art of Pheidias than the plastic decorations of the Parthenon. We must ever bear in mind that these works, incalculable though their value may be for us, and however admirable they may be in themselves, are far from being the full representatives of the plastic art of Pheidias. If we wish to appreciate the relationship they hold to the works of Pheidias, we can best do this in considering the relation that the pictorial decorations of the *Loggie* of the Vatican hold to the art of Raphael. I do not mean to imply that this similarity of relation amounts to identity. For, however vastly different in spiritual importance a figure from the Parthenon pediment may be as compared with the sacred temple-statue of the Olympian Zeus, still these pedimental figures are more like colossal statues than the decorations of the *Loggie* are like pictures. Yet, if we could imagine that all the great works of Raphael had been destroyed, and that for the appreciation of his genius we had been driven back to the *Loggie* and the written descriptions of those authors who had seen his great works, the case would be very similar to the one in which we are now placed with regard to the recognition of the genius of Pheidias.

Nevertheless even in these comparatively meagre remains of his work we can trace in every stroke of the chisel his characteristic grandeur, width, and simplicity. It was breathed into the character of the man by the spirit of a great age. The sculptures of the Parthenon are transfused with this spirit. Massive and large in their lines, they are free from everything that points towards the petty tricks of the craft, and they are solemn and simple as the measures of a great work of Bach, only less formal and more full of life. Never do they suggest to us the laboured and the painfully wrought, and though they

[1] *SQ.* 794 (*De Elocut.* 14).

are massive and large in character, they are never heavy. This general impression of the Parthenon sculptures as a whole is maintained and enforced when we examine the special groups more closely, whether Metopes, or Pediments, or Frieze.

Of all the existing remains, the Metopes are least fully expressive of the art of Pheidias. There is reason in fact to believe that they are not the production of his full-grown genius. So that for the purpose we have now before us, namely that of investigating the spirit of the art of Pheidias, they are only of service as enabling us to study the stages of its growth[1].

With the Pediments[2], it is altogether different. From whatever side we consider them, the general conception, the composition of the work, the single figures, the chief characteristics of Pheidiac art impress themselves upon us.

The conception of the events represented has the effect of producing an artistic creation saturated with the deepest human thoughts to an extent unequalled in the whole range of art. What makes them so unique is that these loftiest and most weighty conceptions of the human mind are expressed in a sensuous language, intelligible to the ordinary Greek of antiquity without any effort and without any demand for a previous training in philosophical thought or a long habit of such reasoning. This greatness and vastness of the thoughts that are here expressed in stone applies chiefly to the Eastern pediment; for, as we shall see[3], the subject represented in the Western pediment has a more local character. In the Eastern pediment, without any strained allegory or any didactic obtrusion of erudition, the widest conceptions of the human brain, Time and Space, the terrestrial and the celestial world, humanity and divinity, are all put into the familiar forms created by the childlike imagination of an essentially artistic people. It is the birth of Athene, the clear-eyed daughter of Zeus, the bright atmosphere which descends from heaven to earth. Can we imagine a nobler frame-work for this great event than Time incorporate? Helios, the sun-god, rising over the mountains at

[1] For a closer investigation of the Metopes of the Parthenon see Essay III.
[2] See Essays IV. and V. [3] See Essay IV.

the left[1] wing, and Selene, the moon-goddess, descending into the sea on the right, and both these figures, while making manifest to the senses of the most childlike mind the great process and endless course of nature in time, definitely suggesting to human reason that which is indefinite and boundless, at the same time serve to fix the event to the early dawn; and hence, taking Olympus as the seat of action, indicate the whole compass of the earth by what lies between the East and the West. Surely if one task of the poet and artist is to express the great truths of life and nature in terms that are harmonious, and therefore intelligible without an effort, Pheidias has here succeeded in his task.

In the composition of these pediments as a whole, we have the same largeness of line with fulness of decorative effect. In both pediments our eye is driven with one continuous sweep to the centre of interest. If we do but compare these compositions with the composition of the pediments of the Temple of Athene at Aegina, which are but thirty years earlier, we shall appreciate the advance that was made by Pheidias. In the Aegina pediments, however great be the progress which they mark, we feel in every instance how each figure was placed in a position to suit the height prescribed by the limits of the cornice, and withal there is a certain emptiness in the composition as a whole, a number of blank spaces left which rob the representation of organic unity. In the Parthenon pediments, on the other hand, however large the outline of the composition, there is that fulness which gives life and variety to the whole[2]; and yet it is not so in the sense of later (especially Roman) art, in which architectural sculpture is not only engaged in contributing to the harmony of effect in an edifice, but becomes literally enslaved, to the entire extinction of its own rights and claims as sculpture, so that the apparent

[1] Throughout these Essays, by 'right' and 'left' I mean the right and left of the spectator.

[2] This is an instance of the relation between symmetry and rhythm, the regularity of form in composition and the flow of life in the modelling in regard to separate statues, as I have tried to show in the earlier part of this Essay, and in the article on Pythagoras of Rhegion, reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (i. 192) at the end of the present volume.

purpose of the plastic figures is primarily and above all to fill a certain space with pleasing lines.

The single figures of these pediments tell the same story. They are in fact perfect models for decorative sculpture, inasmuch as, though they satisfy the demands of the laws governing such work, they are found to be, as far as possible, still in compliance with the laws governing sculpture properly so called. As we have seen before[1], in decorative sculpture the laws applying to sculpture proper are modified in so far as the single figure becomes subservient to the general effect of the whole composition, and even mediately to the total effect of the architectural structure; and laws that partake of the nature of the laws of pictorial art modify those that apply more strictly to plastic art. But still decorative sculpture is the more perfect according as the artist succeeds, while complying with the demands of decoration, in keeping within the limits of the art of which this is but a modification. Though the single figures of the Parthenon pediments join organically to one another and each and all contribute to the harmony of the decorative effect of the composition as a whole, still each figure, both in composition and in modelling, has that self-containedness and inward localisation of the centre of interest, which to a certain degree makes it a remarkable work when viewed by itself, disjointed from the whole group. Nay, we can go so far as to say, that, despite the unbroken unity of the compositions as a whole, we can very well subdivide the whole pediment into smaller groups of two and three figures, these smaller groups having the most complete roundness of composition; and again subdivide these smaller groups into single figures which are individually remarkable statues.

In these single figures again, we can distinguish, as displaying the chief attributes of Pheidiac art, three particular points, the attitudes, the proportion, and the modelling.

By means of the attitudes he has chosen, Pheidias has given to these figures, without being cumbrous and heavy, a width and breadth which present to the eye large masses of broad and monumental lines as opposed to the meagre and unstable.

[1] See Essay I., page 32.

It is the one thing of which we most frequently feel the want in modern monuments placed in the open air. However attractive they may appear to us in the studio, when once they have as back-ground an open space or a lofty building, they dwindle into pettiness, barely attaining neatness. They have often one side or aspect which corresponds in character to the scale of the surroundings; but this character is seldom maintained throughout, and some aspects will be sadly meagre and thin.

Now this largeness does not relate to the actual size of the monument as a whole, but is a question of inner proportion, the relation that subsists between the parts among each other and of the parts as a whole. If this inner proportion of the work does not impress the stamp of largeness upon it, no amount of increase in dimension will produce this effect. On the contrary, such an enlarged work without the elements of grandeur in the composition itself, becomes monstrous and formless. A good instance of this is the gigantic (9 feet 8 inches) *infant* Herakles[1] of *basalte nero* in the Capitol at Rome. As the statue now stands, it is grotesque and monstrous. If, however, we try the experiment of examining it through a reversed opera-glass, it becomes quaint and bearable. The reasons for this difference of effect are to be found, in the first place, in the fact that a child suggests to us the essentially small, and will not therefore bear translation into colossal dimensions. A separate colossal statue of a child, even when seen from a distance, is monstrous; there is not then the perfect harmony between the subject represented and the material form in which it is expressed, which we have learnt to consider a primary principle of art. In the arms of some grown-up figure or as part of a group, the colossal statue of a child might be represented without incongruity; for then its essential smallness would be made evident by its comparative size. In the second place, the reasons for the quaintness of this statue when viewed through a reversed opera-glass as compared with its formless appearance as it now stands, are to be found in the fact that the exaggerated proportions of this Herculean child, which would be apparent even in natural

[1] *Museo Capitolino*, Vol. I., p. 112, pl. XL.

dimensions, become still further exaggerated with an increase to colossal dimensions; while in the reduction they become less obtrusively noticeable as faults, but merely produce the effect of quaintness. Quaintness generally depends upon some faulty proportion or something abnormal. *Genre* and comic painting and sculpture will never bear colossal dimensions. This the Dutch painters knew. Quaintness made colossal becomes grotesque and even repulsive. Now, from whatever distance we view the Parthenon figures, however small the actual image on our retina be, the figures will ever appear large to us, because in their composition and in their proportions they are largely conceived and executed[1]. And yet (and this is an uncommon feature) these statues will well bear close inspection, and their inner harmony is such that they ever remain beautiful, whatever the point from which spectators view them.

Lastly, this is the result of the character of the modelling itself, and of the love with which the details are executed. Each smallest line and part of the surface has that breadth of modelling, that avoidance of all that is petty and accidental, which, attracting the eye for its own sake, does so to the detriment of that which is more important, more typical and lasting. It is the indescribable something which is inherent in the execution of these Parthenon sculptures, and in some of the works of Michelangelo, which can only be hinted at by such words

[1] Though this quality is the immediate outcome of the character and nature of the artist himself, it is evident that Pheidias studied most carefully, almost scientifically, the laws of proportion governing colossal statues. In the artist's *sketch* this quality will come out spontaneously from his inner character and from the theoretical study *after* it has become a part of his nature, saturated his mind, and has, as it were, gone over from the sphere of intellect into that of emotion and will. But in the execution on a large scale the actual immediate application of these almost scientific principles of proportion will have to be made. That Pheidias did this, is evident from the passage in Tzetzes (*Chil.* VIII. 340) in which it is stated that Alkamenes was proclaimed victor over Pheidias in a particular competition when the works were examined below, but that the palm was given immediately to Pheidias when once this colossal work had been placed on its high pillar. It is also evident when we notice how carefully the lower and projecting parts of the seated figures from the eastern pediment are slightly diminished in order not to appear disproportionately large in relation to the upper and more receding parts. That the ancients carefully considered these matters is shown by a passage from Plato's *Sophist* (235 D, E.), in which the necessity of diminishing the lower parts of the colossal work in order to comply with the demands of proper proportion is clearly stated.

as 'breadth' and 'largeness', and negatively indicated by saying that they are free from half-tints and half-lines. It is felt most readily by comparing one of the Parthenon figures with an Apollo Sauroktonos, the Aphrodite of Melos with the Venus de' Medici, a Sibyl from Michelangelo's fresco of the Sistine Chapel with one of Watteau's shepherdesses, a stanza from Milton with a song of Béranger, or a symphonic movement of Beethoven with an impromptu of Chopin.

Finally, in the Frieze[1], as is necessarily the case with continuous relief work, the principles of plastic art are exceptionally modified by those of pictorial art[2]. Yet even here the effect is produced with a least possible encroachment upon the laws governing plastic monumental art. Here again we must notice separately the general conception, the composition, and the single figures.

In the conception of the subject, the Panathenaic procession, Pheidias has manifested his innate sense of what is typical and lasting even when he is representing what is manifold, varied, and changing. The very arguments which the archaeologist Boetticher[3] brings against the assumption that the frieze represents this procession are most useful in illustrating this artistic tact of Pheidias. Boetticher misses regularity, the rank and file of a solemn procession, and the heavy ornaments of wreaths on the heads of the figures, and therefore doubts whether it can be a representation of the sacred pomp. But, happily, Pheidias was not an archaeologist but an artist. Instead of copying the procession as it really was and presenting us with monotonous lines of orderly ranks of foot and horse (as is sometimes done with considerable display of handicraft skill in more modern reliefs), he has chosen that which is typical and lasting and therefore most worthy of being transferred to marble.

And this is also true of the composition. In the frieze as in the pediments, the whole is true and pleasing, harmonious in its distribution, and uniform in its conception, and yet replete with life and movement. There is no violent flapping of

[1] See Essays VI. and VII.

[2] See Essay I., page 32.

[3] *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1857.

drapery, no contortion of rippling lines, as in the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Phigalia; and still, the longer we look at the Parthenon frieze, the more it will gain in life; while, in comparison with this, the longer we see the Phigalian frieze, the less vital will its movement appear.

And the single figures, moreover, play each its part in the whole drama, and yet are so self-contained in their composition that they afford endless motives to sculptors for separate statues. Nay, though they be but half the size of life, many of these figures are so large in conception that they need but be transferred to the round and increased in their dimensions, to present admirable colossal monuments.

Thus, though the great works of Pheidias have not come down to us, the remains of the decorations of the Parthenon tell us of that spirit of Art which we have been endeavouring to recognise.

This grandeur of character in the works of Pheidias is heightened and partly produced through the absence of all conscious striving and straining after effect by means of the small tricks and bye-ways of technical skill. It is their simplicity which makes, or adds to, their power. Yet all these qualities in the work cannot be immediately produced by one act of the will of an artist; they are to be traced back to the same characteristics in the man. And such a man was Pheidias; the offspring and typical representative of the age of Greek history most characterised by loftiness of feeling and directness of purpose.

NOTE B.

P. 42. "The intention of the artist."

It would be well for modern art critics, who do not profess to deal with works of art from the historical or scientific point of view, to bear in mind the fact that a perfect work of art does not remind us of the process of its creation. They must not believe that they are conveying any adequate notion of a painting or of the effect it was intended to produce upon the appreciative public, when they use a few words like '*chiaroscuro*' or 'fore-shortening,' and try to write as much as possible as if they were doing, by means of a few empty words, the very actions that the maker of a picture has really to perform in the most craftsmanlike stage of his art-production.

These art critics appear to aim at converting the appreciative public into a host of non-painting painters, who are first to be oppressed with the material difficulties of the production of such things, and then perhaps to be delighted at having succeeded in constructing this imaginary work. They are looking for the same kind of pleasure as the art-producer himself derives out of his hard work. And whom, we must ask, is the product itself finally to delight or edify?

If I might here proceed still further in this line of criticism to the sphere of the writers on the Theory of Art, I should like to point to one fundamental fallacy, as wide-spread as it is well supported by authority and readily accepted. I mean the fundamental fallacy concerning the attitude in which we are to encounter works of art for purposes of appreciation. It is the idea that we justly appreciate a work of art from an artistic point of view, when we perceive, consider, and admire the perseverance, honesty, skill, or even nobility of the work as work. In an artistic creation we are told that we should primarily look for the design, for the personal element underlying the work, or for the morality in the working.

I hold that a work of art, as a work of art in contradistinction to a piece of mechanism, ought in the first place to engross our attention with its own inner life and harmony, so that we almost forget for the time being that it was ever made and did not always exist, and that it must call forth in us feelings corresponding to this life and harmony of the thing of art. We may admire upon subsequent reflection facts connected with its construction or distant associations which spring secondarily from the work of art, and this is a very important quality of such works. Yet we must not mistake the cause of our admiration and ascribe it to the thing of art itself, and still less must we make a retrospective inference and make this secondary cause of admiration the essential aim of a work of art. An artistic production may stimulate and satisfy our scientific and moral Eros; but we must not ascribe this to the aesthetical qualities of the work, nor must we consider this stimulation and satisfaction to be the primary aim of art.

Our admiration may even be of an artistic nature, immediately caused by something artistic, and still not be the result (as we may be inclined to believe) of the work that is before our eyes. This is generally the case when in the work of art we admire the worker and the honesty and perseverance of his labour. It is not the Adam and Eve in the picture which call forth our admiration, when we think of the honesty or the Germanic Renaissance sobriety of a Dürer or a Cranach. Let us not be mistaken about what we admire. What produces in us the aesthetic pleasure in such a case, is a drama or an epic poem. This moral story of work or historical epic of Nürnberg is of our own making. It is we who construct this story in our own imagination and sympathise with the character whom we picture to ourselves sitting in his garret, toiling at and loving his lines, and strengthening and beautifying each stroke with the chaste spirit of hard work. And a most beautiful story we may make it! But it is we that have made it, it is we that have inwardly written and acted a moral drama and have painted pictures of Nürnberg. But where have we left the picture of Adam and Eve?

Surely a work of art has an aesthetic right of existence of its own, independent of its happening to be a slight stimulus to inner, immaterial, self-made, and admired art-productions. And this is as little the aim of the artist or the purpose of the work, as the inner drama of the noble toilful life of a Spinoza, suggested to us by his works, is the primary aim and scientific result of the philosophy contained in his books.

Skilful construction and utility, morality in the act of creation, and augmentation of knowledge, are as little the primary aim of a work of art, as the primary aim of a railway-bridge is beauty, moral edification, and increase of knowledge; as the *Imitatio Christi* was immediately meant to bring worldly profit, to give aesthetical pleasure, or to establish scientific doctrine; or as a treatise on biology is primarily and immediately designed to be of practical use, to provide aesthetical edification, and moral amelioration.

Ethical Aesthetics are in one way as absurd as Artistic Ethics. For both are untrue, when they are meant to define the exact province of either of these spheres of human thought. But let me in one word urge that this does not mean that art, morality, and utility are opposed to one another. When immorality stares out of a picture or brawls out of a poem, in so far these attributes counteract the effect of beauty in us; nor indeed can we conceive of goodness as a thing ugly and repulsive.

NOTE C.

P. 63. "The fables concerning the guilt of Pheidias."

Since this passage was in type there have appeared two papers bearing immediately upon the life, death and works of Pheidias which bring forward views that are new and in some points differ from those hitherto accepted. The one is by Dr H. Müller-Strübing (*Die Legenden vom Tode des Phidias*. Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, Jahrgang 28. 1882, p. 289 seq.), the other by Dr J. Loeschke (*Phidias Tod und Chronologie des Olympischen Zeus*, Historische Untersuchung).

Dr Müller-Strübing in the course of his learned paper brings out some important facts concerning the history of the age of Pheidias. According to him the life of Pheidias extended from 495 to 428, and he ended his life highly honoured by the Eleans in some part of their country. He compares with each other the various renderings of the scholion to Aristophanes *Pax*, 605, and shows the absurdity of the charge of embezzlement brought against the great artist. The charge of sacrilege connected with the portraits on the shield of the Athene Parthenos as related by Plutarch he thinks was a legend composed by the attendants of the temple who showed visitors about. When we find that not only the later writers, but also Aristotle, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, down to Ampelius allude to it, there seems, to say the least, to have been little doubt in the minds of educated men in antiquity as to the truth of the fact. Müller-Strübing's argument that Pliny and Pausanias do not mention the portraits or even the shield, is of no weight to disprove the story concerning the portraits. For if their silence concerning the portraits were proof that these did not exist, the shield itself would on the same grounds have no existence, which could hardly be maintained by any student.

Dr Loeschke's view seems the more probable one, that both these charges were brought together, and were part of a general charge of profaneness (ἀσέβεια). According to him the building of the Parthenon would occupy more time than has heretofore been assumed, and would come after the sculptor had completed the Zeus at Olympia. It would then have lasted from 447 to 434.

If, finally, R. Schöne (*Im Neuen Reich*, II. 297 seq.) is correct, the opisthodomos at the west end would have been ready to hold the treasury transported thither from Delos about 454 B.C., and there would thus be an interruption in the building. The difference in the perfection of the western pediment as compared with the eastern, and the growth in excellence to be noticed in the various works decorating the Parthenon (as will become evident in the following Essays) would speak for this interruption as well as for the longer time devoted to the building of the Parthenon.

ESSAY III.

THE METOPES OF THE PARTHENON AND THE LAPITH-HEAD IN THE LOUVRE.

Κεφαλὴν τῷ μύθῳ πειρώμεθα ἁρμόττουσαν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πρόσθεν.
Let me try to provide the story with a head which fits our previous discoveries.

PLATO, Timaeus, 69 A.

ESSAY III.

THE METOPES OF THE PARTHENON AND THE LAPITH-HEAD IN THE LOUVRE.

THE transition from the round lines of the columns of a Doric temple (see fig. 3), in the shaft and in the *echinus* of the

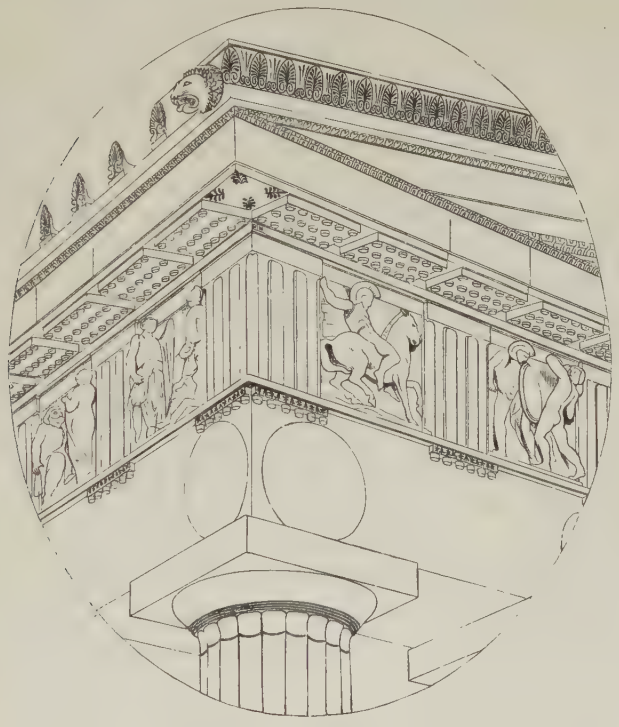


FIG. 3. Corner of a Doric temple (Penrose).

capital, to the straight lines of the entablature surmounting the pillars, is made by means of a square slab called the *abacus*

(πλίνθος). This *abacus* seems placed between the weight-sustaining *echinus* and the heavy mass of the roofing as a kind of intermediate body to relieve the strain upon both main divisions, as it binds together the two systems of lines. Over the capital and the *abacus*, reaching from pillar to pillar, are oblong blocks of stone which constitute the architrave (ἐπιστύλιον). The architrave is surmounted by the frieze, and the frieze by the projecting cornice (γεῖσον). This cornice is surmounted by a triangular space enclosed by another cornice, and the gable thus formed is the pediment (ἀετός). The recess created by the enclosing triangular cornice has a wall at the back (τύμπανον, *tympanum*), which is filled with a group of statues.

In the Ionic and Corinthian orders the frieze forms one continuous band with an uninterrupted ornamentation. In the Doric order the frieze is called τρίγλυφον, because it is subdivided by means of small projecting rectangular pieces (higher than they are broad), one above and one between each two pillars. These projections are subdivided into three parts by means of two grooves cut into the surface, and hence they are called triglyphs (τρίγλυφος). The square space intervening between each two triglyphs is called the metope (μετόπη, *metopa*). Originally this space between the triglyphs was left open and served as a window[1]: but subsequently it was closed with a marble slab which was decorated with painting or sculpture in relief[2].

In the Parthenon[3] these metopes were of Pentelic marble and were decorated with sculpture in high relief. There were ninety-two of them, separated from one another by triglyphs, and running round the whole of the temple: fourteen on either front, and thirty-two on either side. Each was 4·41 ft. square, but the top contained a projecting seam of 0·45 ft. decorated with a bead ornament (ἀστράγαλος) which must be deducted from the space left for reliefs. The figures in the reliefs project from the background about 10 in. This projection is never exceeded, and

[1] Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 113.

[2] The accompanying cut (fig. 3) is taken, by kind permission, from Mr Fergusson's recent work on the Parthenon. It is reduced from Penrose's True Principles of Athenian Architecture, Plate I.

[3] See Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 124 seq.

was therefore probably prescribed by the thickness of the slabs. The relief was very bold, and frequently the figures stood forth freely from the ground, in part almost as if in the round. The heads are often finished quite as in the round; for instance, the torso of the southern metope XVI (Michaelis) was only attached to the background at the shoulder; the torso from metope XIV has the back entirely finished, thus showing that the whole upper part of the body stood forth freely. The light striking these compositions from all sides, there was no fear that the strong projections in the relief would produce disturbing shadows[1]. If in some instances the lower extremities of the figures, such as a foot, stood forth so boldly that the figure might appear to be floating in the air, this effect, as Michaelis has shown, would be counteracted by the fact that the metopes receded slightly more than the architrave below them, and so the feet, which would otherwise not be seen at all, appear to be standing on firm ground.

Though there are at present no traces of colour to be found on these metopes, there can hardly be any doubt that originally the reliefs were supported by colour. A committee appointed to examine this question in 1836[2] was unable at that time to come to any definite conclusion. Faraday admitted the possibility of colour having been destroyed by the soap-suds in taking moulds of the whole series of the Elgin Marbles. Penrose[3] believed in slight traces, though he leaves the whole very doubtful; while Beulé[4], and the German sculptor Siegel[5], who, during a long residence in Athens, has examined numberless fragments found *in situ*, decidedly assert that they have seen distinct traces of colour on the metopes. The frequent use of bronze accessories, as well as the flat and smooth blocking of the hair, especially of the Lapiths, without any ridges to indicate its texture, point to the use of colour. There can hardly be a doubt that the ground of the relief was coloured, and, as the triglyphs decidedly were blue, this ground was most probably dark red. The brightness of the light and the clearness of the atmosphere, which on the one

[1] This would have been the case in the frieze. See Essays VI. and VII.

[2] See Michaelis, p. 125, and Transactions of the R. Inst. of British Architects, Vol. I., Part II., p. 103 seq.

[3] *The Parthenon*, p. 56.

[4] *L'Acropole*, &c., II., p. 136.

[5] Quoted by Michaelis, p. 56.

hand called for pronounced relief and for the support of colour to render the designs visible in their distant position, on the other hand counteracted the excessive prominence of colour.

As I have pointed out before[1], the prescribed and limited space offered to the sculptor in the metopes called forth his skill in composing complete groups within each limited space. In many of the metopes this is most successfully accomplished. On the other hand it has been recognised that the several metopes have a distinct relation among each other, and, though separated by the intervening triglyphs, form groups of larger compositions. These groups, as is generally the case in Greek temples, are again fixed and defined by the different sides of the temple; and so it is clear that on the east front the metopes represent scenes from the battle between the giants and gods, on the west they represent the battle between Greeks and Amazons, on the north and south the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs. Within the compositions on the north and south (being the longer sides of the temple) are introduced two smaller compositions, the subject of which on the north has been made out to be the conquest of Troy, while that on the south is unexplained. With the exception of the metopes from the south, representing the Kentauromachia, some of which are in perfect preservation, the metopes have suffered so much from the weather and the results of the destruction of the Parthenon in the time of Morosini (1687) and subsequently, that their interpretation and the study of their style becomes a difficult task.

For purposes of the comparative study of style, however, the Centaur metopes present a most interesting series. It has been noticed[2] that these metopes vary considerably in their artistic conception and execution, and Michaelis has distinguished three noticeable stages: the first (IV, VIII, XXVI, XXX, XXXI) still slightly archaic and coarse in character and treatment; the second (VI, X, XXIX, XXXII) are free from archaism, yet manifest a certain laxity of modelling and line, a wavering weakness of intention, which makes them a kind of neutral transition to the third (I, II, III, V, VII, IX, XII, XXVII, XXVIII)

[1] See Essay II., p. 64.

[2] See Michaelis, p. 127.

which are among the finest specimens of high relief sculpture in existence.

These discrepancies have been noticed by many, and attempts have been made to account for them[1]. Visconti[2] and Quatremère de Quincy[3] believe that various assistants executed the designs. Beulé[4] points to the influence of the older Attic schools, and Brunn[5] definitely shows how in the head of the Centaur in metope IV the Myronian type of heads, as in his Faun of the Lateran Museum[6], is evident, in contradistinction to the nobler character of the Centaur heads in metopes XXIX and XXX.

The chief stress has been laid by these archaeologists upon the fact that the different assistants whom Pheidias had to employ belonged to the earlier schools such as that of Kritios, Kalamis, and Myron, and were either too old and too strongly infused with the traditional style of their masters to adapt themselves to that of Pheidias, or had not yet been trained into a willing execution of their new master's design. But though this circumstance may well have had some influence in the execution, the fact remains, as Michaelis has pointed out, that there are also considerable differences with regard to the design and composition of these groups, differences in the skill of adapting this composition to the prescribed space, and in the life and nobility given to the action. This, I believe, cannot be sufficiently accounted for by the difference of school in the work of the assistants. We must look rather to Pheidias himself, and ask whether it be not possible that the change in the works is concomitant with the development of the artist?

If we compare the character of the subjects represented in these metopes as a whole with the compositions in the pediments and the frieze, we must feel that, in contradistinction to these, with their peaceful subjects and their noble rest and

[1] Prof. Brunn is still at work at the metopes. Though I have no doubt that his researches will surpass in importance and excellence all other work on the same subject, I feel driven to exemplify at present by means of the metopes an hypothesis arising out of the study of the life and development of Pheidias hinted at in Essay II.

[2] *Memorie*, p. 96.

[3] *Lettres*, p. 56 seq.

[4] *L'Acropole*, II., p. 133 seq.

[5] *Annali dell' Inst.* XXX., p. 381.

[6] *Monum. dell Inst.* VI., p. 23.

simplicity of treatment, the metopes depict warlike scenes in compositions full of violent activity. If we recall the subjects represented in the metopes, we find that there are scenes from the Gigantomachia, Amazonomachia, the Kentauromachia, and the siege of Troy. These mythological conquests were, from the earliest times down to the later periods of Greek art, the types illustrative of the superiority of the Greek races over the Barbarians, and are always used to commemorate more or less immediately the warlike spirit of the people or some signal victories. So it is in the metopes and frieze of the Theseion, the Parthenon, the temple of Apollo at Phigalia, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the dedications of Attalos and Eumenes at Pergamon. We must furthermore bear in mind that the life and work of Pheidias have universally been divided into three periods, the first[1] of which manifests the immediate influence of the heroic events of the Persian war, while the second period merely manifests this spirit in an indirect way, in that it gives a strong, elevated, and heroic tone to the artist's conception and treatment of the peaceful aspects of the flourishing life of culture at Athens. We must, finally, remember that, while the conception of Athene in the statue of the Athene Parthenos was that of the peaceful though powerful virgin, and that the pediments represent joyous incidents from the life of the Athenian patron goddess, and the frieze the great pomp and ceremony of her festival, the metopes are the expression in mythological form of the victorious power of the Greek race. Thus, from the character of the subject represented in the metopes, we must consider their conception more in keeping with the character of the Athene Promachos, the Athene Areia at Plataeae, and the thirteen figures of Marathon at Delphi, than with the character of the work belonging to the second period.

So far the choice of the subject represented in these compositions points to the first period in the artistic development of Pheidias. The more detailed our examination of these compositions grows, the more do we become confirmed in this hypothesis. In execution these conceptions, though frequently instancing the dash and boldness of youth, are on the

[1] See Essay II., p. 67.

whole not possessed of the rest and monumentality which characterise the other works, and could not by themselves be taken as fully representative types of Pheidiac art[1]. The violent movements and attitudes of the struggling Centaurs and Lapiths would better suit the hand of a Myron than that of a Pheidias, and there can be no doubt that in the composition as well as in the type of the figures and the character of the modelling there are many instances in these metopes that remind us of the work of Myron, besides the striking coincidence between the head of the Centaur and that of the Lateran Faun to which Brunn has drawn attention.

Yet, as has been stated before, these metopes in themselves present an advance and a steady growth in freedom of composition and execution, and nobility of conception: they manifest to us the evident process of a striving for and a seeking after something which is ultimately attained. And this progress is noticeable in all the different aspects of the art.

In metope XXIX we feel that the artist has not yet gained the power to adapt his composition to the space in filling out the square, so that no blank flat surfaces shall remain. The attitudes are forced, and do not appear so natural as to make us forget the limits of space within which they are composed; the modelling of the surface is either harsh and rigid or vague and uncertain, while the types of the Centaurs, especially with regard to the heads, are exaggerated in the attempted indication of their brute nature. In others, however, the composition is so well adapted to the space, the square is so well filled with "unneutral" lines, and this unmechanical effect is so heightened by the natural flow of the attitudes and the grouping, that we are never allowed to feel that the artist had a limited space prescribed into which he was to fit his composition. The action though vigorous is so self-contained that, when there is added to this a perfect flow of surface in the modelling and a type of Centaur in which the brutal never merges into the grotesque, we feel that we have a work which in kind is intimately related to the pediments and the frieze.

[1] See Essay I., p. 31 seq.

When in addition to the justifiable first hypothesis we consider the growth in freedom of composition and nobility of conception together with the steady advance in the skill of the technical handling of the material within the several metopes, and when we bear in mind that in keeping with the natural process in the construction of such a temple the metopes would be the first executed of all the plastic decorations, we shall be driven to infer that in these works Pheidias went through his schooling in this sphere of his art, a phase in the development of an artist which even genius has to live through, before its own fire can shed forth warmth or light—before it really is genius. The supreme serenity of the artistic creativeness of Pheidias was not infused into him in one moment of enlightened craving and of idle receptiveness, but he had to conquer his place as a hero of art, of which the claims lay dormant in his innate genius, by the steady struggle of work and experience, as the strong Herakles and the bold Theseus made themselves heroes only after struggling through a series of toilsome labours.

It has been pointed out before, that in the metopes of the Parthenon Pheidias was subjected to that inestimable regulator of the development of genius, moderate compulsion, and that it is here that we are most likely to find the turning point from the growing artistic individuality to the fully formed and fixed originality of his creative power. We only become thoroughly possessed of our own originality when we have learnt and recognised the work and methods of others, and have opened ourselves to their influence. It is to the 'storm and stress' period of his life, to the seeking for the means of expression that will fully convey the meaning that is within his artistic imagination, that the character of the metopes points. No wonder that there are Myronian elements in some of them, that their original conception is instinct with the warlike character of the preceding great events, that there is a steady growth towards perfection in their composition and execution, and that from rigidity, violence, and grotesqueness, we pass through wavering and uncertainty into the freedom, moderation, and grace of the art which is shed over the pediments and the frieze. For these works mark the very transition from the first to the second

period, from the Athene Promachos to the Athene Parthenos, and it is the first attempt of the artist to fit his art and his inventiveness into a prescribed outer framework in the decorative sculpture of the Parthenon, the result of which is to bear fruit again in his works of pure sculpture such as the Parthenos and the Zeus.

Though we have been dwelling upon the differences in the various metopes when compared with each other, the fact remains that the style of the metopes taken as a whole, in comparison with the style of a similar class of works by the other masters and schools, is marked and individual. The characteristics of conception and workmanship that remain, after the individual differences have been subtracted from the whole list of their attributes, are of sufficient definiteness to enable an archaeologist of ordinary training, and a natural predisposition to this class of observation, to recognise one of these metopes, or even an important fragment from them when met with under surrounding conditions that would of themselves not have suggested the Parthenon. Such characteristics, presenting a varied scale of definiteness for purposes of identification, are: (1) The quality of the marble (Pentelic). (2) The dimensions of the figures (two-thirds life-size). (3) High, bold relief, carved out of the block itself (on the frieze of the Erechtheion the relief of other marble was fixed to the background), with some peculiarities noted above. (4) The subject represented, as far as these subjects have been recognised in the composition of the Parthenon metopes, and if the work to be interpreted is a fragment, so far as the figure of which it was a part is recognisable through it. (5) The conception of the subject represented, which, though bolder and fuller of action than known archaic representations, is still more severe than those that have come down to us in similar representations belonging to a period subsequent to the Peloponnesian war. (6) The modelling of the figures, though more marked, rigid, and angular than the flowing modelling of even the figures from the pediments and the frieze of the same temple, has none of the softness of the later Attic schools, and is less hard and strict than that of the figures of the Aeginetan school, as in the Aegina pediments.

In the later modelling of Michaelis's second class of metopes, we never meet with the flabby undefined character of the figures recently discovered at Olympia[1]. (7) The peculiar types of head, as in the three classes of Centaur heads, and the peculiar way in which the hair is indicated in the head and in the beard, the character of the mouth, cheek-bone, and eye (with prominent orbs and straight cut eye-lids), and the definite type of Lapith-head. (8) The nature of the mechanical working of the surface (not polished as late marble), with traces of colour, or indications of the past application of colour, from the peculiar working of the marble, or rather, from the *voluntary* omission of the indication of texture by means of modelling in some parts. (9) The nature of the corrosion, whether partial or entire, especially if the work under consideration is a fragment. (10) The site upon which the work was found, if ascertainable.

Now, it will be seen that within this list of characteristics some of the above heads are of less importance in identification than others; such for instance is (1): for there are very many works of Pentelic marble. Others, such as (8), the traces of colour, or indications of the past application of colour, may not be present in a given specimen; but their presence would be an important addition to the identification. One of these characteristics alone is far from defining a given work as belonging to the Parthenon metopes; but the greater the number of them found in a given work, the greater grows the probability of its belonging to this class, until, if the work contains all these characteristics in a marked manner, we are forced to consider it as belonging to these metopes.

There are many reliefs, even high-reliefs, of Pentelic marble; not so many representing the battle between Greeks and Centaurs; still fewer in figures of these dimensions, and still fewer

[1] Compare, for instance, the Centaur carrying off a struggling female figure in metope XXIX with a very similar *motif* in the western pediment of Olympia (*Ausgrab.* II. 23, 24; Overbeck, *Plastik*, 3d. ed. Fig. 90, M. N.). Not only are the lines that indicate the muscles of the Centaur vague and washed out in the Olympian figure as compared with the Parthenon metope, but this difference is especially marked in the drapery of the female figures as well as in the relation between the drapery and the nude.

metopes of Pentelic marble of exactly these dimensions forming part of a temple with certain proportions. But when we come to the peculiar conception and representation of these scenes, and the individual style of modelling and character of workmanship and an Attic *provenance*, we may step from the negative to the positive, and with all but mathematical certainty we may assign such a work to the Parthenon metopes.

This process and method of enumeration of individual characteristics is really useful, and is to be applied for purposes of teaching, of archaeological discipline (which is to make archaeologists of students), and for purposes of testing the correctness of the more rapid and organic inferences of the original investigator. Discoveries, from their very synthetic nature, in this department of research as well as in the discoveries of natural science, are not made by an immediate application of each systematic step of the method in a given order, but are generally brought to their first unsteady life by a rapid complex process of thought or conception, almost intuition, which however essentially differs from ordinary guess-work in that it is the fixed system of method which has passed through a living and thinking being, has saturated and modified his mind, and has itself gained from the individual mind life and organic applicability. This unsteady life at the birth of truth in discovery can be made vigorous and prolonged by the more analytical and sober application of the test enumerated above, and not until then can it really be considered to be a discovery. An archaeological investigator may at one glance consider a given work to belong to the Parthenon metopes, because one or more of the essential characteristics of these works have stood forth very pronouncedly in the work considered, or because the total effect of all these characteristics combined in the one work impressed themselves in their entirety upon his mind, which had been made appreciative for this effect through a previous study of each of these characteristics. However this may be, the investigator must test his inference by a detailed application of all the known attributes of the Parthenon metopes.

In the corridor leading to the *Cabinet des Bronzes* of the Louvre Museum at Paris, cases are placed against the wall which

contain temporarily fragments of marbles, generally newly discovered or acquired. In passing through this corridor I was struck by a marble head (Plate I.) placed at some height from the eye line, and feeling in the first instance that this was a work not Roman but Greek, and moreover of the great period of Greek art, I stopped to study it more carefully, as well as its distant position would permit. The conviction soon forced itself upon me that here was a piece of Attic workmanship of the period corresponding to the earlier works of Pheidias and the works of the Theseion, and, though reserving the final verification for the time when it would be possible to make a detailed examination and comparison with the metopes, I was morally convinced that this was the head of a Lapith belonging to one of the metopes of the Parthenon.

Moreover, from M. Héron de Villefosse of the Louvre Museum I ascertained that the head in question was acquired from a dealer in Vienna, who, again, had procured it at the Piraeus, where it was said to have been found in the water.

When once the case was opened and I could examine the marble in my own hands at leisure, what before partook of the character of conjecture, was turned to a firm conviction that I was right in my first supposition.

The head of Pentelic marble is 17 centimetres ($6\frac{3}{4}$ inches) in height by $12\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres (almost 5 inches) in width from temple to temple. The general character of the beardless head presents a mixture of firmness and roundness which is given to the heads of the Lapiths opposing the bearded and brutal Centaurs, as a type of the cultured Greek opposing the brute force of the barbarians. The treatment of the outline and of the flesh is compact and firm without approaching the hardness of the heads of the Aegina marbles, the works of which school are spoken of by Quintilian as being *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima*[1]. In the treatment of the features we find that the lines are firmly marked in a cruder and more abrupt manner than we notice in the heads of the frieze of the Parthenon, or than we should assume in the heads of the pediments, judging from the comparatively softer modelling of the extant bodies of

[1] *SQ.* 420.

PLATE I. MARBLE HEAD IN THE LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS.

the pedimental figures. This difference between the execution of the metopes and the other marbles decorating the Parthenon is not wholly to be referred to a prevalence in these metopes of the more severe and archaic treatment which points to the influence of the older Attic schools, of a Hegias or a Myron; but also to the fact that the smallness of the dimensions coupled with the height at which the metopes were placed above the eye of the spectator, made it necessary for the sculptor to emphasise and harden his lines.

The hair of the extant heads of Lapiths from the metopes, as well as that of the head under consideration, runs in a regular clear-cut outline over the forehead coming to a point in the centre. The texture of the hair is not fully indicated by a grooved surface; but a comparatively smooth layer, like a close-fitting cap, seems drawn over the head. Colour was no doubt called in to assist in producing the effect which would otherwise have been obtained by means of grooves cut into the marble itself[1]. The frontal bone projects strongly as in the heads of the metopes, yet presents no rise and fall, but runs in one continuous curve from temple to temple. The expression of emotion in the heads of the Lapiths, though more advanced than in those among the Aegina marbles, is far less pronounced than in the heads of the Centaurs from the same metopes, whose passion, anger and pain are most manifest in the distorted features.

It is a fact worthy of more general notice, that before the end of the fourth century there is no trace of a monument of a higher god or of a Greek in which an indication of passion carries with it a contortion of features. With great freedom this is put into the faces of daemons, monsters, and barbarians. It is in these heads that the Greek sculptors practised the expression of passionate emotion. In the time in which the general feeling for the more dramatic and pathetic forms of art was strongest, statues of fauns and satyrs, river-gods, Centaurs, giants, and other beings of a like kind, are most frequent. Though these figures are, in the higher periods of Greek art, introduced into reliefs or larger decorative groups, it is not until later (after

[1] See Michaelis, p. 124, seq.

the close of the fourth century) that they are made the subjects of single statues. In these earlier friezes and pedimental groups they are the only figures invested with the expression of passion. We can almost trace, by means of extant monuments, how the definite artistic method of expressing violent emotion was transferred into the heads of human, heroic and divine figures in later art from the forms which had previously and customarily been put into the heads of these creatures. We need merely mark as a noteworthy instance the history of the gradual growth and exaggeration of the frontal bone towards the centre of the forehead. The later the monument of Centaur or river-gods the more does the frontal bone protrude; and the more in later times passion is expressed or suggested in human or divine heads, the more does the sculptor transfer to them this characteristic feature, from the daemons and barbarians, into whose heads it had been put in much earlier periods of art. Still, even in later art, the sculptor seems to have exercised a comparative restraint, in expressing violent passion in the heads of gods and Greeks. From the Centaur-battles of the metopes of the Parthenon down to the recently discovered frieze from the altar at Pergamon, representing the Gigantomachia, the faces of the Greeks and of the gods are comparatively free from the distortions of passion, while their adversaries manifest all the signs of pain and anger: so strong was the feeling for form with the Greeks, and so adverse were they to sacrificing harmonious lines in the representations of their own race and of their heroic and divine world.

The expression of emotion in the heads of the Lapiths is limited to parted or firmly closed lips and to the peculiar indication of a frown. In the Louvre head, as in the others, this frown is indicated by means of straight simple lines worked into the brow and the forehead, probably by means of a file. In the Louvre head, as in the head of the fallen Lapith in metope XXX (Michaelis), a simple horizontal line of this kind is cut along the middle of the forehead. One shorter and deeper line, again straight and simple, runs down between the brows above the bridge of the nose; while, in the head of the Lapith in metope XXX, who has fallen below his adversary and is receiving a fatal blow from him, a stronger expression of

emotion is brought out, in that he has two such perpendicular ridges.

The eyelid in the Louvre head and in those of the metopes is worked smoothly with one continuous curve. The chin is round and firm, yet has some appearance of pointedness through the deep curve worked into the space between the under-lip and the chin. The under-lip is full and round, much more so than in the Aegina marbles. Still the mouth is hard and somewhat conventional in the perfectly symmetrical curve of the line between the lips.

The right side of the head is much corroded, while the left is quite smooth in its surface. As in all similar monuments this shows that the right was the weather side and that the left was protected. It is further evident that the left side was not meant to be seen; for it is not quite finished, the ear not being at all indicated on this side. In pedimental groups in which the inside of the figures in the round facing the tympanum, are also not to be seen, this inner side, in the Pheidiac period of art, is still quite finished. It is only from the limits of space in high relief that the inner side does not practically admit of complete finish. This head was thus evidently part of a high relief corresponding to that of the metopes of the Parthenon, in which the heads and limbs are generally completely undercut and stand out freely from the ground of the relief. This is still more evident from the fact that in the attempt to work away the marble from the ground of the relief, there must have been difficulty in properly getting at the inner side; and thus strokes of the chisel are noticeable running from the beginning of the hair at the left temple towards the back of the head, and others running from the back of the head towards the left or inner side. At one point where these strokes from either side tend to meet, about at the boundary line between the back and the left side of the head, there is a rough elevation, a ridge, running from the top of the head to the neck. Evidently this was the part of the head nearest the ground of the relief, and the sculptor who had to work round from either side must have experienced the greatest difficulty in cutting this part away cleanly.

As many of the Lapiths in the Parthenon metopes have

merely the heads broken away while the necks remain, I felt that it was highly probable that the very metope, to which this head belonged, might be found in the British Museum.

I had proceeded thus far in this investigation, when the authorities of the Louvre Museum generously sent me a plaster cast taken from the original marble. Upon taking this cast to the British Museum, with the kind assistance of Mr Newton, the metope to which it appeared to belong was soon found; and after placing the cast upon the neck, it was found that it fitted perfectly, each fractured projection of the one fitting into the depression of the other. So for instance while there remained a fragment of the neck on the outside of the head, there was no indication left upon the inside; this cavity however was found to correspond exactly to the curve produced by the rising left shoulder, caused by the upraised arm of the advancing Lapith. Finally, the rough ridge on the left side of the head where the sculptor was not able to work freely with the chisel, was the point nearest the ground of the relief when the head was placed on the metope.

Plate II. is taken from the metope (VII. Mich., 6 in the *B. M. Guide*) in the British Museum upon which the cast from the Louvre has been placed, as well as the cast of a head of a Centaur at Athens, previously recognised as belonging to this metope[1]. Even in its former imperfect condition this metope has been greatly admired. Mr Newton[2] says of it: "Even in its present mutilated state, this is, perhaps, the finest of all the metopes in the Museum. The action is most spirited, and the modelling very thorough and masterly."

With the head of the Lapith now supplied, and with the help of Carrey's drawing[3], from which we learn the action of the left arm of the Centaur, we are enabled to reconstruct the whole metope without the loss of any of the details.

The metope is thus one of the most complete, as it decidedly is, in many ways, the finest. Its excellence consists chiefly in the way in which the dramatic situation is represented and the tension of the supreme moment is brought out. The Lapith has

[1] In Michaelis, p. 141, this fragment R. is assigned to metope VIII.

[2] *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* (Brit. Mus. 1880), p. 36.

[3] Michaelis, Pl. III. No. 7, below.

PLATE II. METOPE OF THE PARTHENON WITH LOUVRE HEAD ADDED, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

seized the Centaur by the throat with his left hand, while he is drawing back the right hand to give the fatal blow with the sword. The onset of the advancing Lapith causes the Centaur to rear in the attempt to free his throat with his left hand from the firm grasp of his enemy. The attitude of pressing forward on the part of the Lapith is most perfectly given, while the head looking up at the rearing Centaur adds much to the expression of this action. It is interesting to compare a photograph of the metope, as it was before the head was added, with the present plate. We can then realise how fatally the loss of any one part impairs the appearance of the work of a great artist, as we must also realise that a perfect work of art depends upon the organic treatment of the artist's crude material, the harmony and unity of all the parts of a work. There hardly exists any more bold and superb action than that of the Centaur rearing back in a last effort. The forelegs and hoofs do not remind one of hands, and still they seem more sensitive and fuller of designed purpose than the hoofs of a horse, as if the human body above the animal had modified their power and purpose while they retain their shape.

Finally, dramatic unity is given to this composition through the clear localisation of a central point of interest. This is not conventionally placed in the actual centre of the square metope, but at the right upper corner at the neck of the Centaur. It is to this point (also the moral centre of importance and interest) that all the movements of the figures and all the lines of the composition tend. It is also, physically, the point of balance to the figures as represented. For if we were to conceive this point suddenly to give way, both Centaur and Lapith would fall forward. It is the meeting of forces at this point that keeps both figures in the position in which the artist has represented them, as it is the grip upon the Centaur's throat that gives the Lapith the advantage in the struggle and is the efficient cause of the other's speedy destruction.

But the greatest artistic merit and that which most fully marks the advance made by Pheidias in the metopes, and the result attained in the schooling period of the artist's career marked by these monuments, lies in the fact that all this life and action displayed with such freedom have been composed

and executed within the limits of the prescribed square space of the metope. It is here that the power of a great artist like Pheidias manifests itself; it is thus that he adapts himself to the physical conditions of the work to be produced, and makes us forget the difficulties with which he had to struggle, by means of the life which he puts into his figures and scenes, while adapting the form to the material at his disposal.

ESSAY IV.

THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON, AND THE VENICE FRAGMENT.

Τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

In the pediment at the back of the temple is represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the (Attic) land.

PAUSAN. I. 24, 5.

ESSAY IV.

THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON, AND THE VENICE FRAGMENT.

AFTER the completion of the Parthenon and its final dedication to the virgin daughter of Zeus in the year 438 B.C., the temple seems to have remained in its original condition for many centuries, despite the effects of time, the sweep of historical movements and revolutions, and the absolute changes of its own destination and purpose. It was in the fifth or sixth century of our era that, with the full establishment of the Christian faith, the Parthenon was converted into a Christian Church. Such is the strength and persistency of tradition, that, though the ancient Greek and the Christian faiths were in direct opposition to one another, the original pagan destination of the temple reacted upon the nature of its dedication in Christian times. The goddess Athene is both the goddess of wisdom and the virgin daughter of Zeus, and thus the temple was at first dedicated to Saintly Wisdom (St Sophia), and subsequently to the Virgin Mary. The alterations necessitated by its new dedication chiefly concerned the interior of the temple. The entrance was transplanted from the east to the west, an apse was built at the east end, and two niches were placed in the tympanum of the western pediment[1]. On the whole these alterations had very little effect upon the sculptured decorations.

[1] See Penrose, *True Principles of Athenian Architecture;* Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 45—76.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century it was converted from a Greek Orthodox into a Roman Catholic Church, and in 1458 it was turned into a Turkish mosque. The alterations in this case were again chiefly in the interior, the Turks contenting themselves with building on the outside the slender minaret on the western portion of the southern wall, which can be seen in several drawings that have come down to us[1].

Thus it remained in comparatively perfect preservation until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when all nationalities seemed to combine in destroying it. It was in September of the year 1687, during the war between the Republic of Venice and Turkey, that the Venetian general, subsequently Doge, Francesco Morosini, after having conquered the whole of the Morea, advanced northwards and resolved to invest Athens, whither the Turkish forces had retreated. His army consisted chiefly of mercenary troops of all nationalities under the immediate command of Count Koenigsmark, a Swedish General, born in Westphalia. In the night of the 21st of September Koenigsmark landed 10,000 men at the Piraeus, and finding that the Turks had deserted the town and had withdrawn to the Acropolis, he entered the town, laid siege to and began to bombard the Acropolis. The firing was without much effect until, upon hearing that the Turks had stored powder in the Parthenon, on the 26th of September 1687, at seven o'clock in the evening, a German lieutenant under the command of De Vannis succeeded in sending a shell through the roof of the Parthenon which ignited the powder and rent the great temple asunder, heaping fragments on either side.

Then and subsequently it was naturally the western pediment which suffered most among the great sculptured work of the Parthenon. For, facing the entrance to the Acropolis, it was naturally to a greater extent the butt of the enemy's artillery than was the case with the eastern pediment, and furthermore it subsequently readily presented itself to the eye of the despoiler, who saw it first upon entering the Acropolis

[1] See Comte de Laborde, *Athènes au xv^e^, xvi^e^ et xvii^e^ siècles;* Papayannaki, and F. Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1875, p. 26, seq. Pl. 8; von Duhn, *Mittheilungen d. deutsch. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1877, p. 38, Taf. 2; C. Waldstein, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. IV. No. 1, p. 86, seq.

through the Propylaea. We know that the horses of the chariot of Athene in this pediment immediately attracted the attention of Morosini, who determined to carry them off to Venice. In lowering them the ropes gave way and the marble horses were dashed to fragments. Thus it is that, though several large figures and torsos of the eastern pediment are still extant, there is but one torso remaining in good condition from the western pediment, with six more or less imperfect fragments of the other figures. Still it so happens that records have come down to us representing the pediments before their final destruction, at a time when, so far as composition goes, the western pediment was almost perfect; and these drawings enable us to study in the western pediment to greater perfection than in the eastern Pheidias's principles of pedimental composition.

But few years before the destruction of the Parthenon by the Venetians, the Marquis de Nointel, the ambassador of Louis XIV. to the Porte, stopped at Athens on his way homewards, in November 1674, and was so much struck with the beauties of the Parthenon that he bought from the Turkish Commander for six yards of scarlet cloth and a quarter of a hundred-weight of coffee the permission to have drawings made of this temple. Luckily he had with him Jacques Carrey, a pupil of Lebrun's, a clever and rapid draughtsman. Though Carrey laboured under the disadvantages of a scorching sun, a distant view of many of the monuments in their lofty position on the edifice (the erection of scaffolding being forbidden), and limited time, he completed in a fortnight twenty-one large sheets of sketches, containing the two pediments, thirty-two metopes of the southern side, the whole of the western and eastern frieze, with the exception of the central slab of the eastern frieze, fifteen slabs in the eastern portion of the northern frieze, and seventeen slabs from the middle of the southern frieze. After passing through several hands and disappearing on various occasions, these drawings were at last (1797) bought for the National Library at Paris and are now deposited there in the reserve of the Cabinet des Estampes. Naturally the drawings are sketchy and not always exact with regard to details; still they are most instructive for questions of *ensemble*, and, as in the case of the western pediment, are most valuable for the study of

composition. Fig. IV., representing the western pediment, is an adaptation of Carrey's drawing supplemented by some of the existing fragments.

Unfortunately, even in the time of Carrey, nearly all the hands and the attributes they contained were broken away, and the important light which they would have thrown upon the interpretation of the single figures and the groups is thus lost. What is definitely known concerning the western pediment may be summed up under the following five heads :

1. That the subject represented in the western pediment was the struggle between Athene and Poseidon for the patronage or supremacy over the Attic land[1].

2. That the pedimental group consisted of twenty figures, of which ten were on either side of the centre, and of the chariot and horses of Athene and Poseidon.

3. That in the centre were the figures of Athene and Poseidon in attitudes of violent movement.

4. That the chariot of Athene was almost certainly driven by Nike and that of Poseidon by Amphitrite.

5. That at the extreme angle to the right of Athene (our left) the reclining figure is almost certainly a river-god, probably Kephissos, and that the corresponding figures at the opposite angle partake of the same nature.

Beyond this we have no definite knowledge concerning the meaning of this pedimental group, and as is natural its interpretation has been a favourite subject of conjecture to archaeologists. In every science there are subjects providing a sufficient number of fundamental data to instigate the inquiring mind to the attempt to complete one's imperfect knowledge, and not enough to enable the student to clench his theory by actual demonstration. This will always be the favourite field for hypothesis, and this is the case with regard to the interpretation of the western pediment.

Until the year 1821 archaeologists mistook the west of the Parthenon for the front, and were thus misled in their attempt to interpret the pediment[2]. The outlines of the myth are as

[1] Paus. I. xxiv. 5, *τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.*

[2] For an enumeration of the various interpretations see Michaelis pp. 178—203, and also C. T. Newton, *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon in the British*

follows: Athene and Poseidon both claim the patronage over the land of Attica; their claims are to be decided by some token, symbol or sign of their power; and, according to various traditions, the judges who are to decide which of these tokens contains the weightiest claim to the patronage are either the Olympian gods, or Kekrops the hero-king of Athens with his family, or the Attic people itself. The symbols of power are, generally, for Athene the sacred olive-tree which she planted on the sterile rock of the Acropolis, and for Poseidon the sacred salt well which he caused to issue from the rock after striking it with his trident. Other traditions refer to the creation of the horse[1]. Finally there is a further development of the myth, according to which Poseidon, enraged at his defeat, attempted to overflow the land and threatened the olive, but was defeated by Athene. It is almost universally acknowledged that the olive and the salt spring were the tokens by which the patronage was to be decided, and that this myth was represented in the pediment. Where the authorities chiefly differ is in deciding whether what was represented in the pediment, was, in the first place, the creating of the tokens themselves, the actual contest: or secondly, the moment succeeding the contest, the tokens having been produced and the contest decided. In the latter case Athene would in the pediment be either driving back Poseidon; or she would be raising her arms in exultation as if clasping the land, while Poseidon retires humiliated; or, finally, Hermes having brought the news of the Olympian decision to Athene on the one side and

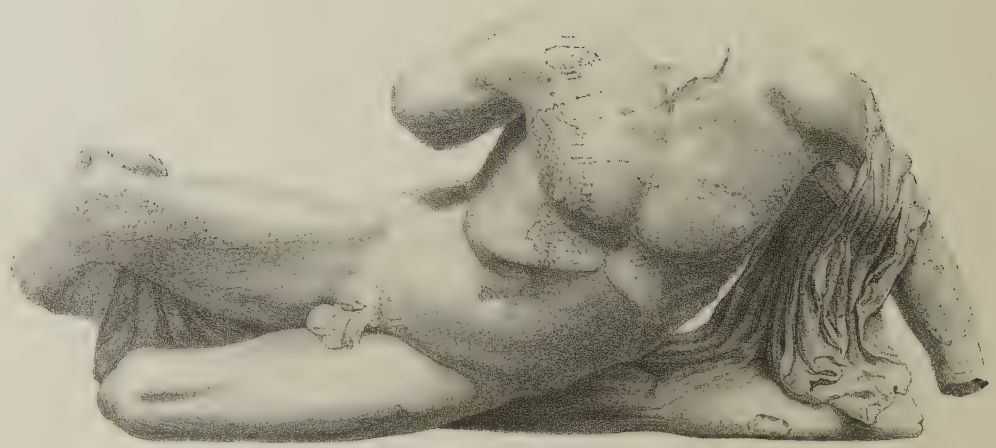
Museum, published by order of the Trustees, 1882, in which all previous investigations are mentioned.

[1] All the various traditions have been collected by Stephani, *Compte-Rendu de la commiss. imp. archéol. de St Pétersbourg*, 1872, p. 64 seq. The introduction of the Poseidon Vase at St Petersburg into the discussion with a view to the elucidation of the subject represented in the pediment of the Parthenon appears to me to have caused more confusion than it has done good. Its importance seems to me to have been also exaggerated by Prof. Robert (*Hermes*, 1881, XVI. p. 60 seq.). The mistake is continually made that, especially in works of the minor arts, the by no means inconsiderable influence of the purpose of the implement which the drawing or the relief is to decorate, upon the subject, character and composition of the decoration itself, is not sufficiently recognised. I cannot at the present moment enter upon this wider subject, but it appears to me that the destination of the vase in question may to some degree account for the introduction of Dionysos into the contest and the peculiarities of the whole rendering of the scene.

Iris to Poseidon on the other, Athene would be retiring to her chariot led by Nike, and Poseidon to his led by Amphitrite. It will be evident that as one or other view is taken as to the particular form of the myth represented, so will the figures on either side of the central group of the pediment be interpreted. According to some, then, the act takes place in the presence of the assembled gods, and we have, with the exception of the river-gods at either angle, which all interpreters are agreed upon, an assembly of great gods on either side, according to others the Attic gods, or Kekrops with his daughter, or (the most common view) the followers of Athene, were on the one side, and the marine deities and the nymphs, the followers of Poseidon, on the other.

But all these interpretations seem to me to fall to the ground, when once we consider the laws of pedimental arrangement followed by Pheidias, which I hope will be made clear in the course of the present and next following essay. The view, to which this consideration leads us, differs materially from all the previous ones, and is that held by Brunn[1]. He considers the conflict to be ended and the centre of the pediment to be occupied by Athene and Poseidon with their chariots, their immediate followers Nike and Amphitrite, and the messengers from Olympus, Hermes and Iris; while the remaining figures, distinctly separated from the central scene, are, as is acknowledged with regard to the reclining figures at the angles (the river-gods Kephissos and Ilissos), personifications of Nature, forming as it were the landscape in which the great event takes place. Though I cannot follow Brunn in insisting that each one of the figures necessarily personifies so definite a district, river, or mountain as he maintains that it does, I am forced to accept the general principles of his interpretation for reasons which will become more evident in the next essay. But the interpretation of this pedimental group is not the aim of this essay, and I must refer the more curious to the special treatises upon the subject. It is sufficient for our immediate purpose to know that Athene is here represented as asserting her rights to the patronage of Athens in opposition to Poseidon.

[1] *Sitzungsber. d. k. Bayr. Akad.* 1876, I., p. 25 seq.



J. GAUL DEL.

LITH. BY CARL LEONH. BECKER

KEPHISSOS FROM THE WESTERN PEDIMENT.

This conception of Athene would alone be enough to lead us to believe that of the two pediments this is the earlier one. There can be no doubt that this narrower and more warlike conception of the goddess corresponds, as we have seen[1], to the spirit of the first period in the artistic career of Pheidias, just as in the subjects represented in the metopes we have to a still greater degree recognised this spirit in the choice of the subjects. This surmise is still further strengthened when we come to study the technical execution of the work, even in the scanty remains that have come down to us. It is here, for instance, that we notice considerable discrepancies between the execution of the Kephissos (Pl. III.) and the fragment of the draped figure (Pl. IV., and No. 1, to the right of the centre in the drawing of the pediment on Fig. 4). While the Kephissos shows a full mastery of the art of modelling, the power of rendering the texture of various surfaces with perfect freedom, ease, and continuousness of flow, and still with complete definiteness of line, the draped fragment is, especially when compared with the draped figures from the eastern pediment (see Plates VII. and VIII.), vaguer, less defined, and with less depth in the working of the folds. This definiteness and firmness of line possessed by these figures from the eastern pediment, and not by the fragment from the western, producing in their drapery a varied play of light and shade, does not give less softness to the effect of the figures as a whole. The other fragments too, such as those of the river-god and nymph at the other angle of the pediment, are when minutely studied, inferior, both in freedom and in definiteness of execution, to the works in the eastern pediment and to the Kephissos from the western[2]. On the whole the fragments of the western pediment are inferior to those of the eastern, and among each other they again differ in excellence, manifesting, as far as they are concerned, more or less uncertainty of touch on the part of the executing artist.

It thus appears to me, that while the eastern pediment and the frieze are free from any traces of the immediate influence of

[1] See Essay II., page 67.

[2] A similar difference in point of artistic excellence has been noticed between the eastern and western pediment in the Temple of Athene at Aegina and here the western pediment is universally considered to be the earlier one.

the warlike spirit which marked the first period in the artistic career of Pheidias, and manifest a more confirmed unity of style, there are some traces both of this warlike spirit and of uncertainty of style still to be noticed in the western pediment, and still more marked ones in the metopes. The chronological order of these works then, which would also be the one suggested by the construction of the building[1], would be, first the metopes, secondly the western pediment, thirdly the eastern pediment, and lastly the frieze.

But if Pheidias had not yet attained the full mastery over the technical execution of his art in the western pediment, he certainly had attained the highest perfection in the art of pedimental composition.

The two chief distinctive principles which we find in the pedimental composition of Pheidias are, in the first place symmetry far removed from monotony, and secondly, the most forcible representation of the chief action by means of the most perfect localisation of the centre of interest, and what might be called a gradual, and dynamic, nay even an organic growth of interest toward the centre.

As regards the symmetry in these compositions, we notice that there are an equal number of figures on the right and left of the pediment; that to the right and left of Athene and Poseidon were their chariots led by female figures with two figures in the background; that after the charioteers none of the figures are completely turned towards the centre; that there are two completely nude figures (numbered 2 r. and 2 l. on Fig. 4), a boy to the right of Athene, a girl to the left, both in some dependent attitude with regard to the older draped female figures, against one of whom the boy is leaning, while the girl is seated[2] on the lap of the other; and that at either end we have reclining figures.

[1] The new theory of Loeschcke alluded to in Note C on p. 83, which extends the period of building the Parthenon over a larger number of years and introduces an interruption in the building caused by Pheidias's absence at Olympia, would, if finally confirmed, afford a most remarkable illustration of the conclusions brought out in the text.

[2] I believe that the harmony in the character and attitude of these two figures must also include some correspondence in the meaning. When Brunn, who considers

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FRAGMENT OF A SEATED FIGURE
FROM THE WESTERN PEDIMENT.

Variety is infused into this symmetry, adding life and avoiding all possibility of monotony, by the fact that Athene and Poseidon are not placed at the same distance from the centre of the pediment; that in the background of the horses on the side of Athene we have a male figure, while on the side of Poseidon we have a female figure; that behind Nike we have an upright figure (No. 1, l.), while the corresponding figure on the other side (No. 1, r.) is seated; that the nude boy (No. 2, l.) is moving, while the nude girl (No. 2, r.) is seated; and that the reclining figure at the angle of the one side (No. 7, l.) is a river-god, beside whom toward the centre is most probably a nymph (No. 6, l.), while on the other side we have a reclining nymph (No. 7, r.) on the one side and a crouching river-god (No. 6, r.) beside her toward the centre.

If we turn to the pediment of the temple of Athene at Aegina[1], which is but one generation previous to Pheidias, we find the feeling for symmetry in composition highly developed, but the feeling for variety, or rhythm[2], comparatively imperfect. The scene represented necessitated a reclining figure immediately to the right of Athene, and a forward bending attendant on the left; otherwise the figures are arranged in absolute symmetry, the difference being merely the difference of dress in the archers, to distinguish Teucer from Paris. On either side of Athene, who is placed exactly in the centre of the pediment, are two advancing warriors, a shield in the left and a spear in the upraised right hand. Behind them on either side are archers each kneeling on the right knee. Then follow on either side kneeling warriors with shield and spear; and finally at either angle we have reclining nude figures with

all these figures on either side of the more central group to be personifications of nature, interprets the seated figure with the nude girl on her lap as Thalassa with Aphrodite, there appears to me to be a marked inconsistency in his interpretation. Aphrodite would then be counterbalanced by a boy on the other side, and this would be incongruous even though one were to consider the boy to be Eros thus strangely separated from his mother. Moreover the conception of Aphrodite in the times of Pheidias was a far sterner one, as is borne out, among other things, by the Aphrodite of the Parthenon frieze.

[1] Compare the plate of this pediment in Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, Vol. I. Fig. 19; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. I. Pl. VI.; W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 124, and any text-books on the subject.

[2] See Appendix I.

long hair, each leaning on one arm and with the other hand drawing an arrow, the one from the breast, the other from the thigh. The comparative want of life in this composition caused by this absence of variety or rhythm will be felt when it is put beside Carrey's drawing of the western pediment of the Parthenon.

With respect to our second point, the perfection with which the story is told in a group of architectural sculpture by localising the centre of interest and in leading up to it in a gradual way, we can further distinguish two striking characteristics, among the means by which this is attained: in the first place, the relation which the figures bear to the central story and lead up to it by their character, position in the pediment, and attitude; and secondly, the manner in which the lines themselves drive the eye towards the centre, and assist in giving dramatic point to the whole scene as displayed.

As regards the relation of the figures to the story, the chief gods between whom the action lies are placed in the centre of the pediment; they are colossal in dimensions, and fill a space equal to that devoted to four figures at the angles. Towards this great centre all the interest is to concentrate; and all the figures in the pediment are to be more or less affected by the central action. At either extremity the attitudes of the figures have to indicate the attraction which the centre of importance exercises upon them; but the degree in which the figures participate or are concerned in the central action is not to be monotonously the same throughout the whole composition, but is to be stronger in proportion as the figure actually comes within the range of the central influence. In character as well as in attitude we thus have a widening out of the centre up to where, in Fig. 4, we have drawn a line on either side, within which boundary the figures are, from their nature as well as their attitudes, immediately concerned in the central action, affected by it, and to a certain degree sharers in it. Beyond this line the participation is of a more passive nature and, as a matter of fact, we feel that the character of the figures is not on the same level of weight and meaning with those immediately in the company of the two divinities. In fact their position in sculpture corresponds somewhat to that of the background

in painting. In this indication of the growth of interest towards the centre of action by means of the attitudes of the figures manifesting an increasing share in the action as they near the centre, the Aegina pediment is entirely wanting as compared with the western pediment of the Parthenon. With the exception of the two figures at the angles, they are all in full action towards the centre[1].

The other characteristic that we have to notice under this head is the power with which Pheidias drives the eye of the spectator toward the centre of interest, not so much by the growing participation of the figures in the central action nor by their attitudes, as by the actual lines which these attitudes present to the eye.

An inferior artist, in order to bring about this quality of composition in which all the lines drive the eye towards the most important point, would have simply turned all the figures towards the centre, as a bad photographer makes all eyes look at the lens. In the pediments of the temple of Athene at Aegina this is the case; and, with the exception of the two reclining figures, the lines of all figures drive immediately towards the centre. This produces a monotonous effect and an absence of the natural and organic flow[2]. Pheidias however produces this effect not by presenting a straight, lifeless (geometrical) advance of lines towards the centre; but in breaking up the steady progression towards the centre by means of weaker resistances in the opposite direction, a dynamical and not a geometrical advance of lines, producing in us the effect of a process which corresponds to the life and flow in nature and not a mere direction of the dead mechanical world. In the drawing on Fig. 4 I have indicated this process by means of

[1] This is an additional reason for believing that Brunn's general interpretation of these figures as personifications of nature which surround the scene is the correct one. Up to the line, the figures are all of the same nature as the Kephissos, while after this the key-note of their nature is struck by Athene and Poseidon. These points will become clearer in the next essay.

[2] Among other reasons the inferiority in this respect of the composition of the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia as compared with the Parthenon pediments makes it impossible for me to believe that the sculptors of the Olympian pediments could have studied those of the Parthenon.

small arrows showing the general direction towards which the leading lines of the figures tend by their position. It will be noticed that there is a continuous waving to and fro, to the centre and away from it, centripetal and centrifugal, if we may use these terms. But it will further be noticed that, if we were to add up the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies, the balance would be in favour of the movement towards the centre. If we begin on the right, we find that the first figure at the angle (No. 7), according to Brunn the nymph Kallirrhoë, is turned towards the centre. Her companion (No. 6), the Ilissos, in his crouching attitude is turned towards her, away from the centre. Yet Kallirrhoë is turned more to the centre than Ilissos is turned away from it. We have reason to believe that the figure missing at No. 5 on this side would correspond in its direction to the corresponding figure on the other side which is turned towards the centre. The indistinctly drawn figure No. 4 has a slight direction away from the centre. The next reclining figure, No. 3, almost faces the centre, while the figure on her lap, No. 2, is somewhat turned towards her. The figure nearest the centre, finally (No. 1), completing as it were the sphere of the passive participators, produces a momentary pause in her 'static' attitude, balanced and made stable by the infants on either arm. After this pause, as with a rush, the lines drive towards the centre of interest. It is like the development of a *thema* in music with a gradual *crescendo*, while before we reach the highest point there is a momentary pause and gathering up of force which then is set free at the climax. The same arrangement is noticeable on the left side. First comes the Kephissos (No. 7)[1], twisting in his bed towards the event which has disturbed his quiet flow. The figure which filled the empty space (No. 6), the nymph corresponding to Kallirrhoë turning in the direction of the Ilissos, would be turned towards the Kephissos away from the centre. The next male figure (No. 5) is turned towards the centre, and the female figure (No. 4) slightly away from it. The seated female figure (No. 3) is turned towards the centre, and the boy (No. 2) is moving towards her lap. The female figure nearest the centre (No. 1) has her body turned in the lower half towards

[1] The figure has by some been called Ilissos.

the boy whom she is trying to draw in the other direction, while the upper part of the figure and the neck tend toward the centre, and like the corresponding figure on the other side, is 'static.' After this figure all lines tend directly towards the centre.

Thus in the composition of this group the leading lines do not suggest a mechanical movement towards the centre of interest; but we have a rise and fall, a swaying to and fro, the greater strength lying in the centripetal current, which suggests a dynamic or, still more correctly, an organic principle of motion.

The manner in which the figures are grouped in pairs, the one nearest the centre generally overlapping the other[1], together with the fact that the figures grow larger as they near the centre, seems to suggest a form of perspective, throwing the central group into the foreground, while the wings seem receding into the background.

I can fully sympathise with those who are not in the habit of looking closely into such matters, if they feel doubts whether more thought is not thus put into the composition than was really in the mind of the creating artist. But whoever is conversant with the way in which an artist composes his group, builds up his statue, disposes his folds in the drapery, and models his nude surface, whoever has but thrown a glance into the working of a genuine sculptor's studio, will be aware that a statue, not to speak of a group, is not negligently flung into the soft forms of clay with a burst of inventive genius, unaccompanied by deep study and reflection. It is, rather, the result of long and steady labour and thought for months, not to say years, after the burst of inventive emotion has long passed away, fixed perhaps by a hasty miniature sketch in clay or by a charcoal outline on the wall of the studio. Before a statue is put into life-size or over life-size, many a clay figure has been modelled, studied on all sides in its various aspects, destroyed and replaced by another which avoids certain harsh aspects. A particular portion of drapery is found to disturb the harmony of the lines, it is removed, a new disposal is made, until the work is considered perfect in its most minute effects. And furthermore study and thought are called forth to a still higher degree in

[1] Compare a similar arrangement with a similar result in the grouping of the frieze, described in Essay VII.

groups, and above all in groups where a prescribed space of a peculiar form is to be filled with graceful lines, absorbing the eye of the spectator by the action or situation represented, and never suggesting to his senses the primary exterior limitations which were put upon the artist. Considerations like the preceding on the laws of composition in the pedimental groups of the Parthenon are but the theoretical form in words of what the sculptor has done in his work by the actual manifestations of his more or less conscious study and thought. Pheidias did not mean to evoke in the spectator these thoughts concerning the distribution of his figures. On the contrary he wished to avoid any such feelings: for the better his work of art, the less will it remind the spectator of the struggle it cost to put it together, or of whatever might counteract the illusion of form in suggesting the mechanical, manual or intellectual labour of fashioning it. But in the present discussion we are holding the analytical attitude of mind for purposes of science and archaeological investigation; we wish above all things to know, and not to be aesthetically moved or artistically productive.

So far the extant drawings of the western pediment before its final destruction are most valuable for the study of the composition. But this does not mean that the western pediment is valuable only for the study of the pedimental composition of Pheidias, and that the study of what remains of the single figures is without profit. For though the scanty extant remains do not afford such satisfactory material as those of the eastern pediment for the study of the style of Pheidias, it must not be assumed, because I have pointed to some discrepancies among the single fragments when compared among each other, that they are not all possessed of a marked style of their own; indeed, when any one of them is compared with any other work of Greek art, their marked individuality will stand out most clearly, and they cannot fail at once to present themselves to the archaeologist as belonging to the art of Pheidias. Any fragment of these pediments ought to be recognised wherever it may be found.

I have on a previous occasion described and published the marble fragment figured on Plate V., the lower portion of a seated and draped female figure, in the museum of the Ducal

Palace at Venice[1]; and I there pointed out the resemblance in the style of this work to that of the figures of the Parthenon pediments, as well as the points of difference, and ventured to assign to it a possible position in the western pediment. I dwelt upon these points as fully as space would permit me, and leaving the ground of conjecture and hypothesis, concluded with the proposition, that, of all extant works of Greek art, none stands so near to the sculptures of the Parthenon, as well in conception as in execution, as does this fragment; and that, if it does not come directly from the studio of Pheidias, it is at least a remarkable specimen of Attic art at the latest of the period immediately following Pheidias. Though this is a definite conclusion, I do not think that the possible arguments for attributing this fragment to the Parthenon have been sufficiently exhausted, and it is clearly our duty to face such questions, and not to turn them aside by vague and off-hand affirmations one way or the other. I have been confirmed in my views and led to re-examine more thoroughly the claims of this work to be considered Pheidiac by the concurring opinion of fellow archaeologists in whom I have great faith. Among these Professor Michaelis informs me that he feels convinced that the fragment is the work of Pheidias or of his school, though he does not quite see what position can be assigned to it in either of the pediments. I therefore feel called upon to weigh carefully this possible attribution, and to consider what speaks in its favour and what against it. We are bound to feel the responsibility resting upon those who, facing problems which can receive no light from the literary sources and contain no clue to their solution in the way of circumstantial evidence, endeavour to solve a question solely by means of the comparative study of style. The responsibility to which I have pointed at the end of the first essay, binds us not to discredit the claims of this method by hasty assertion, especially at this early period, when we must be aware that we have not yet had the opportunity of applying it as freely and thoroughly as subsequent archaeologists will be able to do. I have therefore refrained from allowing myself to be carried on to any positive and final statement, but must remain content with setting forth the points which have struck

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* Jahrgang XXXVIII. 1880, p. 71 seq., taf. VII.

myself most forcibly, leaving the reader to form his conclusions in the light of further knowledge[1].

Let us first ask, what this fragment is, and to what kind of figure it belonged? It is a marble fragment about two and a half feet in height by a foot and a half in width[2], belonging to a seated female figure, draped in a chiton of thinner material, and the himation or peplos of thicker stuff, of which the end, generally slung over the shoulder, has glided down and sunk into the lap. The figure could hardly have been a separate free statue in the round; but, with the greatest probability, was part of a pedimental group. Though in Essay II. (page 77) I have dwelt upon the monumental and self-contained character of the single figures of the pedimental groups of the Parthenon, this did not mean to imply that they possessed these qualities in absolutely the same degree as the works of pure sculpture by the same artist. They remain works of decorative sculpture however high a degree of plastic self-containedness they may have reached; and, in so far as they do, in contradistinction to single statues in the round, form part of a larger composition, in so far will they differ from such works with regard to the degree of self-containedness. In the composition of this fragment there is a comparative want of self-containedness which we should not expect to find in a work of this character were it a single statue. When we view the left side of the fragment, the side with the leg drawn back, we notice a certain leaning over, an indication of a movement towards some adjoining figure and some dependence upon it. This would be disturbing in a separate statue, but it is not so in an individual figure forming part of a pedimental group, where the lines of one figure are, as it were, taken up and supported by those of the adjoining one, and where the figures are represented in movement and action. Were the seated female figures from the eastern pediment (Pl. VII. and sketch of pediment, Fig. 5) alone and single, there would be the same comparative want of stability, especially in the lower figure; but in the pediment we have not this feeling, because the

[1] Since this was written, Mr Woolner, the sculptor, informed me that he had noticed the fragment at Venice, and that he had always considered it to have come from one of the pediments of the Parthenon.

[2] The exact measurements will be given hereafter.

PLATE V

LITH. BY CARL LEONH. BECKER

THE VENICE FRAGMENT

overhanging and unstable lines of this statue are supported by the lines of its neighbour, the reclining nude youth.

That it is a pedimental figure is furthermore proved by a seemingly trivial fact: the fracture on the middle of the right leg above the ankle. I have seen many statues that have been discovered in a fractured condition, having fallen from pedestals. The results of the fall have generally been a breaking off of all projecting parts and much damage to the finer and thinner work of the surface; or at the utmost, in some instances where the fall has been very unfavourable, a clean splitting asunder of the whole work, generally in the middle of the figure, the weakest point on its surface, the waist or neck. But I have rarely met with a fracture on the lower firm extremity of so thick and solid a mass as that presented by the lower part of our fragment; for the leg is not undercut and freely worked out from the mass of the block or in any way detached from it. Finally, I do not remember ever to have seen along with the fracture a deep hole such as the one over the ankle of this fragment in the front view, a clean piece of the marble being dashed out of the smooth or solid surface of the body of the block. Such a fracture can only be the result of a violent fall from a great height, far above that of any ordinary pedestal or sub-structure. What would correspond to the nature of its fractures, the result of its fall, is represented by the pediment of a temple. These facts make it most probable that the fragment belonged to a pedimental figure; or at least they make it more probable that it was part of such a figure than of any other kind of statue.

The next question is: To what period and to what school does the artistic style of this fragment point? In the paper referred to I have dwelt upon the correspondence of this work with the extant figures from the Parthenon pediments, especially the seated female figures of the eastern pediment, both in its general conception and its technical execution. It manifests all that 'life coupled with rest' which Pheidias infused into his statues; so that, despite its fragmentary and mutilated condition, it bears the stamp of breadth and grandeur which, as we have seen, characterise the works of that artist. As in the seated figures from the eastern pediment (Pl. VII.), to which this fragment has

the greatest similarity, the legs are held apart, the right one drawn behind the left; and this position, together with the drapery hanging down on either side, presents to the eye a larger mass and gives to the composition something broad and monumental, which is lost when the legs are placed together. And yet there is nothing clumsy or heavy about any of these figures. At the same time this position gives a reason for the transparency of the drapery and the shining through of the forms that it covers, and produces this pleasing effect in a perfectly natural way, without the disturbing obtrusion of the artist's intention above all things to please the eye of the spectator by this transparency of the drapery. Now, in later works, even in those immediately succeeding the age of Pheidias, such as the beautiful sandal-binding Nike from the balustrade of the temple of Nike Apteros and the reliefs from the temple of Apollo at Phigalia, the transparency of the drapery in female figures is impressed upon the spectator to a degree unwarranted by the attitude and action of the figure, and this compromise between truth and the application of skilful modelling, in the direction of sensuality, is still more noticeable in the works belonging to the period of decline after Praxiteles. This position of the legs, finally, produces in the drapery the change between the large simple surfaces, where it is drawn tight, and the intervening smaller folds, which gives to it that natural play and flow of lines which are to be found for the first time in the drapery of the Parthenon sculptures. It appears, then, from these facts, that the fragment in question does not belong to a period subsequent to Pheidias; and it will become more evident, as we proceed, that it could not belong to a period previous to the time of Pheidias.

Yet with all this transparency the effect is not obtained to the detriment of that quality in modelling, which, for the first time in art, Pheidias put into marble—the indication of texture. We are always impressed with the quality of the material which covers the nude forms, with the textural difference between the nude surface, and heavy and light drapery. This natural aspect of drapery in marble Pheidias attained, through his peculiar treatment of folds. I have elsewhere[1] dwelt upon the peculiar

[1] See Appendix II.

manner in which Pheidias gave the natural flow of life to his folds in varying the depth and width of his fold-grooves, a variety which gives such play of light and shade to the whole surface. This quality in the modelling of drapery can best be appreciated, when we compare individual folds in the drapery of Parthenon figures with the folds of archaic figures or of late Roman shop-work. In the latter the fold-grooves are cut at equal depth and width from the beginning to the end, and the grooves run almost absolutely parallel to one another. In the drapery of Pheidias, on the other hand, the fold-grooves, deep and comparatively narrow at the beginning, vary their course as they proceed, gradually growing shallower and wider until they run over into the broad and smooth surfaces, while the grooves among each other run comparatively less rigidly parallel. The Venice fragment is strikingly illustrative of this quality of modelling.

Another characteristic which the pedimental figures and this fragment have in common, is the general scale of depth with which these folds are worked out and the sharpness of the edges. This style of work was demanded by the high position of these statues and by the strong light which they received. In some parts of the fragment, to judge from the cast in the British Museum, this depth and sharpness are not as pronounced as in others. This is due to the fact that this cast (from which the drawing was taken) is made of old plaster of Paris which seems to have lost its firm adhesiveness; and also to the fact that, so far as I can remember, the original at Venice bears traces of having been tampered with, in being cleaned and scraped to free it from its corrosions.

Finally, the fragment has in common with the Parthenon figures a peculiar treatment of the thin under-garment where it touches the ground. The system of modelling drapery here introduced by Pheidias consists in subdividing the surface of the clay by deep and wide grooves producing a series of ridges. These ridges protruding between each two grooves are again subdivided by two slighter grooves, less deep and wide, which produce three small ridges on each one of the larger projections. Without at all suggesting architectural stiffness, I have called these drapery-triglyphs (*Gewand-Triglyphen*). In the frieze,

where the dimensions of the figures did not permit so minute a subdivision, the larger ridges are merely divided into two smaller ones by one groove in the centre. I need hardly say that these ridges are not divided by absolutely parallel grooves.

There are however several points of difference between the fragment and the figures with which it has chiefly been compared. So, for instance, while the transparency of the drapery is great in the seated figures of the eastern pediment, it is not as great as in the fragment, in fact there is more restlessness of line in the fragment than in the seated figures, a ripple rather than a silent flow. Yet this greater transparency, this clinging quality of the drapery, together with the restlessness of line, are to be found in another statue of the eastern pediment, the reclining female figure drawn on Plate VIII.; and this may possibly indicate a similarity in the subject represented by the reclining figure of the eastern pediment and by the statue of which this fragment is a part. How these peculiarities of modelling are to guide us in interpretation will become clear to the reader in the next essay. Both these figures also have a certain limpness of drapery which becomes especially pronounced in the end of the cloak hanging between the knees of the fragment. The whole dimensions of the fragment, moreover, are smaller and thinner than in the seated figures from the eastern pediment, and therefore also the details of modelling will be reduced in scale. But I may anticipate and say at this place, that the fragment could never have come from the eastern pediment; but, if belonging to the Parthenon, it must have come from the western pediment, where the figures are throughout on a smaller scale, there being five figures of the eastern pediment to seven figures of the western to the same space. The same difference of dimension is to be found in the eastern and western pediments of the temple of Athene at Aegina. It seems to have been the custom in these times to make the figures of the main entrance, the front of the temple, larger in size than those of the back, the western side.

Finally we must bear in mind that, though the common character of the Parthenon marbles is so pronounced that the practised eye can distinguish them from all the known specimens of other schools, yet, when compared among each other, there are numerous shades of difference between the work of single

figures. As I have said before[1], the individual differences may be traced back to the intention of the artist to indicate the special character of the figure represented, or they may to some degree possibly be attributed to the difference of workmanship of the various sculptors who were engaged in executing the different parts of the immense work designed by Pheidias. Now the difference in workmanship between the seated female figure nearest the centre of the western pediment (Plate IV. and No. 1, r. on Fig. 4) and the seated figures of the eastern pediment (Plate VII.), is far greater than between the fragment and these figures. Nay, the difference in the indication of folds between the figure (No. 1, r. Fig. 4) from the western pediment and the drapery of the so-called Hygieia (No. 4 on the left), as well as the piece hanging from the left arm of the Kephissos (No. 7, l.) of the same pediment, is greater than the difference between these latter figures and the Venice fragment. Thus, judging from the style, we should have been more inclined to consider the Venice fragment part of the western pediment than the fragment no. 1, r. of that pediment, had the latter not been found *in situ*.

One more question now remains to be considered: Is there any possible or probable position for the figure of which the fragment is a part, in the western pediment? The extant figures from this pediment are very few in number; in fact, besides a few small fragments, there only exist seven torsos that can give an idea of what the statues were.

We are thus driven to compare the fragment with the figures from the western pediment as found in the drawings made before its destruction in the year 1678. Now, valuable as we have seen these drawings to be for the study of the composition, they are, as has been pointed out by Michaelis[2], too sketchy and on too small a scale to be of value for the study of the style of most of the individual figures. But we must not lose sight of the fact that our aim is not to make the comparison between the fragment and the sketch of the figures from the pediment the positive and main test that the fragment belongs to this pediment. All that we are bound to establish is an answer to this question, does this comparison of the fragment with the

[1] See Essay I., p. 33.

[2] *Der Parthenon*, p. 102.

drawings of the fragments in the western pediment, as far as it goes, admit of the possible attribution of the Venice fragment to the pediment or not? We have seen (1) that it more probably formed a part of a pedimental statue than of any other work; (2) that according to its style, especially when compared with the style of the similar figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, it is either by Pheidias or closely related to his school; and it now remains merely to show that a possible place can be found for it in the western pediment, first, in comparing it with the figures in the extant drawings, and secondly, in studying its dimensions in their relation to a possible position in the pediment.

I have therefore made a careful study of Carrey's drawings in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of the copies in the Print Room of the British Museum, and of the various early reproductions. The chief reproductions are the following. The most faithful are those in the Comte de Laborde's works on Athens[1]. They had also been reproduced in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*[2] (from early copies deposited in the British Museum), together with the drawings by Pars, by Lusieri and Feodor, used in the Museum Worsleyanum. Finally they are reproduced in Quatremère de Quincy's *Monuments et Ouvrages*[3]. Among the figures as drawn by Carrey there is a seated figure on the left half of the pediment (Fig. 4, No. 3; D in Michaelis, 4 in Laborde), and the attitude of this figure corresponds well with the position of the fragment. As far as we can see in the drawing, the right foot is placed forward and the drapery is tightly drawn over the leg, producing a smooth surface to reflect the light. The left foot is here drawn backward, though the drawing here is very imperfect and does not clearly show the character of the drapery. Again, there is a strong shadow on the drapery between the legs, the strongest shadow in the drawing of the whole pediment, which might very well be the indication of the full and small lines of the end of

[1] *Athènes au xv., xvi., et xvii. siècles*, Paris, 1854, and *Le Parthenon*, Paris, 1859.

[2] *Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. II. Pl. IX., Vol. III. Pl. V. The work appeared in the years 1790 and 1816, after Stuart's death. For the question, to whom the plates are to be ascribed, see Michaelis, ibid. p. 99.

[3] *Monum. et Ouvr.*, 1829, Pl. II. and III.

the cloak between the knees of the fragment viewed from below. The size of the figure, as we shall see, would well correspond to this position in the pediment. Furthermore there is a very rudely indicated seated figure, the third from the right angle of the pediment (No. 4, r.; Laborde 17, U in Michaelis), which might be a sketchy indication of our fragment. From the imperfect state of Carrey's drawings we cannot learn whether there is any correspondence with regard to the details of drapery between this figure and the fragment; we can only ascertain that a seated figure of about the dimensions noticeable in our fragment existed in this part of the pediment. Finally we must bear in mind that figures were missing in the time of Carrey, No. 4, r., immediately beside the figure just mentioned, and No. 6, l. beside the figure of the Kephissos on the left side of the pediment.

The vacant space on the left side, marked 6 in our sketch, was most probably occupied by a seated female figure. We must assume this from the laws of variety of composition which are adhered to by Pheidias. If we begin from the left we have first a reclining figure, the Kephissos (No. 7), then a blank space (No. 6), then a half-reclining, or crouching figure, generally known as Asklepios (No. 5), then a half-standing female figure, commonly called Hygieia (No. 4), and then a seated figure, commonly called Demeter (No. 3). Now a fully standing figure is out of the question in this low position in the pediment; a reclining or half-reclining figure would be a monotony which Pheidias avoids, inasmuch as one of these is on either side; nor could it be a half-standing figure, which would produce three straight perpendicular lines in succession and would make this figure correspond to the Hygieia following immediately after the Asklepios. Again, we must bear in mind that with all variety there is still some approach to the regularity of symmetry in the composition of the two halves of the pediment. Now, while we have two distinctly seated figures (1 and 4 in our sketch) in the right half of the pediment, we have but one seated figure in the left[1]. All this leads us to assume that there must

[1] Dalton in his *Series of Engravings representing Views of Places, Buildings*, &c. *in Sicily, Greece*, &c., London, 1751—52, even puts 3 in a similar position to the Hygieia, but this is evidently a mistake, and it appears most probable to me that he

have been a seated figure in this place, and we shall see further on that it must have been a female figure. True, the fragment is somewhat high for this position, the shoulder of the Kephissos being on a line with the second fold above the left knee of the fragment. Yet we must bear in mind that the head of Kephissos projects beyond part of the cornice of the pediment and that the distance from the waist to the shoulder in the seated figure 4 is but one-third the distance from foot to waist on the right side of the figure. Again, if the seated figure to which this fragment belonged were in this position, there would be an instance of the harmony in the groups of the pediment of which Pheidias was so fond, in that the two upright figures, Asklepios and Hygieia, would be bounded on either side by corresponding seated figures turned in different directions. Moreover, the direction in which this figure would be turned, namely towards the Kephissos, would harmonise well with the principle which we have before found carried out in these pedimental compositions. Finally, the figure occupying this vacant space would be, in correspondence with the figures in the other angle of the pediment, a water nymph coupled with the Kephissos. The peculiarities in the modelling of the drapery of our fragment,—the great clinging and comparative restlessness which we have noticed above—seem to me to point strongly towards such an interpretation[1].

Thus a comparison of the Venice Fragment with the figures in the western pediment as drawn by Carrey shows that there are two of his figures which may possibly be sketches of our fragment; and a consideration of the probable nature of the figure that must have occupied the vacant space at the left angle of the pediment shows that our fragment may well have occupied the place next to the Kephissos.

The last and most important point which must now be considered before we can maintain the possibility of the attribution of the fragment to the western pediment, is the question whether its dimensions allow of such an attribution. This can only be determined by actual measurements.

considered one of the fragments which he found on the ground, perhaps the fragment ascribed to the eastern pediment (J in Michaelis, Pl. VI.) to belong to this place, and consequently included it.

[1] This will become more evident in the next essay.

The measurements of the fragment are the following:

		M.	ft.	in.	li.
1	The greatest width	·67 =	2	2	2
2	Depth from beginning of foot to beginning of lap	·59 =	1	11	1
3	Perpendicular height from left knee	·67 =	2	2	2
4	From left knee to drapery over foot	·54 =	1	9	1
5	From middle of right knee to middle of left	·38 =	1	3	0

The corresponding measurements of the fragment of the seated female figure nearest the centre on the right half of the pediment (Pl. IV, and Fig. 4, No. 1, r.; Q in Michaelis) are:

		M.	ft.	in.	li.
1	The greatest width	·67 =	2	2	2
2	Depth from beginning of foot to beginning of lap	·56 =	1	10	0
3	Perpendicular height from left knee	·79 =	2	7	1
4	From left knee to drapery over foot	·63 =	2	0	7
5	From middle of right knee to middle of left	·48 =	1	7	0

It will be seen that the greatest width and the depth are about the same in both fragments. The drapery hanging down the side of figure No. 1, r. is broken away while in the fragment it is extant. The greatest width of the fragment No. 1, r. is in the upper part of the figure which is holding an infant in either arm. The depth of all the pedimental figures would be about the same. The real difference appears in the general dimensions, and here we find that the Venice fragment, while maintaining the same proportions as the seated figure from the western pediment, is throughout about one-seventh smaller than it.

Now taking into account the increase in dimensions of the figures as they approach the centre of the pediment, the dimensions of our fragment would suit the fragment No. 4 on the right, even No. 3 on the left, and decidedly a figure occupying the vacant space No. 6 on the left. The vacant space is not greater than the space occupied by the river god No. 6 on the other half, and the width of the extant fragment of this river god is ·70 M. (2 ft. 3½ in.), while the width of our fragment is ·67 M. (2 ft. 2½ in.). The height would also correspond in this position, as the top of the knee of our fragment would be lower than the left shoulder of the Kephissos on the one side (·74 M. = 2 ft. 5 in.) and on a level with the top of the thigh of the so-called Asklepios

on the other side (·67 M. = 2 ft. 2 in.). Should this be thought too low a position for the figure to which our fragment belonged, No. 4 on the right, and certainly No. 5 on the left, would be of ample height.

At all events, these measurements show that, according to the dimensions of the fragment, the figure to which it belonged might well find a place in the pediment.

Let us sum up, then, the results to which these considerations have brought us. We have a fragment which is reported to have come from Constantinople[1] to Venice, a route which Athenian antiquities have often taken. This fragment must be part of a pedimental figure. The style of the work corresponds to the seated figures from the eastern pediment, while the dimensions are those of the figures from the western pediment. As there are two distinguishable stages in the works of the western pediment, the one, to which belongs the Kephissos, corresponding to the most perfect work in the eastern pediment, the other, to which belongs the draped seated figure (Pl. IV, and Fig. 4, No. 1, r.), of a less perfect and in so far earlier execution, we must consider the Venice fragment in style to belong to the later period of the western pediment. Further, both the study of Carrey's drawings of what existed *in situ* in his time, and a consideration of the kind of figures which would have occupied the places which had then already lost their statues, show the possibility of such a figure having been there. Lastly, the measurements of the fragment itself are such as to admit of its introduction into one or other of these portions of the pediment.

[1] I quote this from Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* XVIII. p. 43, citing Mr Newton, who was told this at Venice. It would be well to examine the registers of the Museum at Venice, where perhaps some more definite note concerning its *provenance* might be found.

FIG. 4. The Western Pediment of the Parthenon.

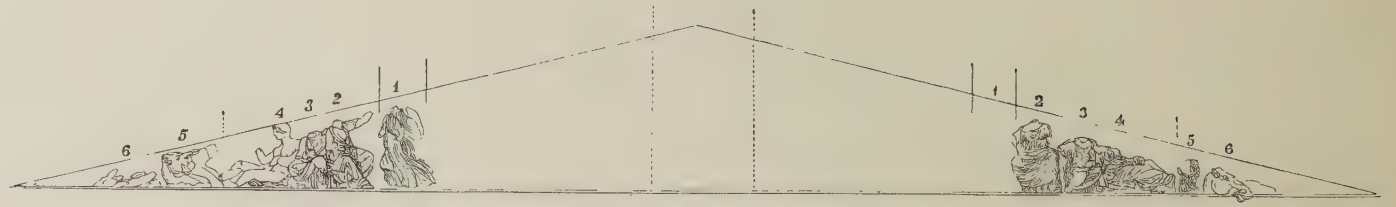

FIG. 5. The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon.

ESSAY V.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON, AND THALASSA AND GAIA.

πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν.

It contains all concerning the birth of Athene.

PAUSAN. I. xxiv. 5.

ESSAY V.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON, AND THALASSA AND GAIA.

In the first Essay I dwelt upon the fact that the careful and earnest study of the character and style of extant monuments and a comparison of the works among each other with respect to their characteristics was the chief task of the archaeologist. This we found to be the most important and most certain method of arriving at an identification of unrecognised works which would enable us to assign an unknown monument to the time and place of its origin, to its school, and even to the individual sculptor who created it. It is not however only for purposes of identification that this method is of great use; but also for the interpretation of works of which the meaning has not yet become clear to us[1].

While a more or less methodical study of the style of Greek monuments has sometimes been applied when it has been attempted to ascribe a certain work to some definite school or master, the careful consideration of the peculiar treatment of a definite work has to my knowledge hardly ever been used as the principal means of interpretation, that is, to determine in unrecognised statues, complete or fragmentary, what god or goddess, hero, or historical person, is represented, in what situation or in what action. I now propose to offer an interpretation of two figures belonging to the eastern pediment of

[1] See Essay I. p. 33.

the Parthenon (Plate VIII.), primarily based upon the peculiar artistic treatment of these works.

A glance at the list of interpretations of the extant figures of the eastern pediment given by Michaelis[1] and by Newton[2] can but make us sceptical of the results attained by mythological speculation in cases in which the literary notices are very scanty, and the indications afforded by the attributes belonging to the figures are wanting. There are no less than twenty-one separate interpretations by distinguished archaeologists from 1821 to the present day; and though it must not be supposed that each archaeologist differs wholly from the other, and that there are not certain definite lines which the greater number adhere to, still the agreement has not grown of late years. Lately, especially since Brunn[3] has opened a new basis of interpretation, the question has been brought to that definite state in which we are led to choose between two distinct alternatives from which we are to select the general line upon which an interpretation is to be founded.

The data concerning the composition of this eastern pediment (Fig. 5) which may be considered to be definitely certain are the following: (1) There are five figures or fragments of figures belonging to the left or southern angle of the pediment, and four to the right or northern; and these are rendered in Carrey's drawing of the pediment. (2) Pausanias tells us that the eastern (front) pediment contained a representation of the birth of Athene, as the western represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic soil[4]. (3) From analogies of other representations by Pheidias, such as that of the birth of Pandora on the base of the Athene Parthenos and the birth of Aphrodite on the base of the Olympian Zeus[5], as well as from the typical meaning of such representations in Greek art, it has been universally recognised that in the head, arms, and shoulder of the male figure rising at the left or northern angle and driving the

[1] *Der Parthenon*, p. 165.

[2] *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon in the British Museum*, 1880, pp. 6, 7.

[3] *Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1874, Vol. II. pp. 1—65.

[4] I. xxiv. 5. ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

[5] Paus. v. xi. 8.

horses whose heads and necks appear before him towards the centre, we have the sun-god Helios driving his horses; while in the descending female figure, driving the horses whose heads are just visible as they descend at the right or southern angle, we have Selene, the moon-goddess, driving her horses. (4) It is furthermore universally admitted that the centre of the composition, of which no complete figure is now extant nor was so at the time that Carrey made his drawings, contained the chief gods and goddesses, including Zeus, Athene, Hephaistos, Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes.

Here the facts end and what remains rests upon inference.

Of the whole of this composition but small portions remain, and these portions are the least important part. These are the five figures (more or less fragmentary) of the left or southern angle of the pediment, and four figures of the right or northern angle. The whole of the centre of the pediment, containing the most important part of the composition, the action itself, is wanting, except one torso of a male figure. I do not desire to enter upon the hypothetical ground of a conjectural restoration of the chief figures of the composition, nor even shall I attempt a complete account and criticism of the conjectural restorations that have been made by several archaeologists[1]. The restoration of Mr Watkiss Lloyd has much in its favour, inasmuch as Athene occupies the centre with Nike to her right, Hephaistos to her left (who, by the way, is incongruously small in his drawing of the restoration), Zeus and Hera following on either side. No doubt much can be urged against this as against all others. Another noteworthy one is that by Prof. Petersen: he places Zeus in the centre, with Hephaistos (who

[1] The most important of these appear to me to be: Quatremère de Quincy, in a Dissertation (*Restitution des deux Frontons du Temple de Minerve à Athènes*, &c.) read in 1812, but not published till 1825 and reprinted in the *Monuments et Ouvrages*, &c. 1829; Welcker, *Zeitschrift für alte Kunst*, I. p. 203, (1818); and *Alte Denkmäler*, I. p. 67, (1849); Cockerell, *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the Brit. Mus.* VI. Pl. 21, p. 13, (1830); Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* I. p. 18, (1840); W. Watkiss Lloyd, *Classical Museum*, Part xviii (written in 1846); and *Trans. of the R. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd Ser., Vol. VII., p. 1 seq. (1863); E. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 105, 156 (1873); Brunn, *Berichte d. k. bayr. Gesell. d. Wissen.*, (1874). Five restorations are figured in Schneider's *Die Geburt der Athena* in Benndorf and Hirschfeld's *Abhandlungen d. Arch.-epigr. Seminares d. Univ. Wien*, I. Plates II—VII. (1880).

has just performed his part) and Athene (who stands fully armed before the admiring gods) on either side, and then places the chief gods in modified symmetry to the right and left. While all these authorities agree in considering the moment of the representation chosen by the artist to be the one immediately following the birth of Athene from the head of Zeus[1], Gerlach[2] and Brunn consider the moment represented to be that immediately preceding the birth of Athene, with Zeus in the centre. I see no evidence to uphold this view, and distinct artistic reasons which make it more than unlikely. For the preliminary stages of the birth from the head of Zeus could hardly be made to suggest definitely the event that was to take place; and from an artistic point of view Zeus seated in the centre without the presence of Athene, would always suggest a temple of Zeus and not of Athene[3].

We may assume then that in the centre was represented the moment immediately following the birth of Athene, in which Athene stands fully armed before her father and the admiring gods and goddesses. Whether she occupied the centre or whether the centre was held by both (which does not mean that they were placed at exactly the same distance from the point of the pediment[4]), is a question which it would be futile to attempt to answer. The correspondence to the western pediment gained by having a centre consisting of two figures, is not, as has been maintained, destructive of the distinct character of the scenes

[1] It is hardly necessary to refute the idea that the representation of Pheidias in any way corresponded to the quaint scenes on several vases upon which Athene is actually being born out of the head of Zeus. See Michaelis, p. 169; Petersen, p. 146.

[2] *Philologus* (1872), p. 376.

[3] The analogy of the composition of the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which Brunn adduces, is really no analogy. Here is represented not the chariot-race between Pelops and Oinomaos, but the preparation for the race. There are many artistic reasons why Paionios should not represent the race itself; while the chariots drawn up on either side of the centre with the grooms and charioteers distinctly convey the meaning and contain all the peculiar and essential parts of the action with the exception of the actual process of racing itself. In the scene represented on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, on the other hand, Zeus seated in the centre is not suggestive of the birth of Athene as chariots and horses are of a race, and the presence of a female figure on either side to represent a single or double Eileithyia would not conduce to clearness.

[4] See Essay IV. p. 115.

(peace and strife) depicted in the two pediments. It would not be the Pheidias whose power of plastic expression we have learned to appreciate, if he could not indicate the friendly relation between the two central figures by means of attitudes with convergent movement and lines in the one case, as there is divergent impulse in the Athene and Poseidon of the western pediment. Moreover the psychical interaction between father and child would be indicated in the more detailed composition. In all extant pediments, a certain symmetry between the larger lines of the composition in the two pediments is usually preserved, and this would be in keeping with the general feeling of Pheidias: to aim at symmetry not absolute, but modified and varied into artistic rhythm. But we are here concerned with the extant figures, which, following the method advocated in the first Essay, we must strive to study in their simple artistic form —the real means of expression in the sculptor's language— free from all prejudice, and above all things, unbiassed by the premature introduction of hypotheses derived from literature.

Beginning at the left or south angle, the first figure is the upper part of the Helios, his head, neck, arms, and shoulders rising out of the water (see Fig. 5). The action as expressed in these limbs is that of energetic rising, fresh and vigorous. This powerful ascending impetus is most forcibly expressed in the upper part of this figure, in the necks and heads of the horses. It is an illustration of the means by which the sculptor gives organic life and unity of meaning and action to his figures. Life is given by the indication of the organic interdependence of all the parts of the body. A definite action or situation of such a living figure is conveyed in that every part of the organism tends to express the action and situation of which the whole organism is the agent. The more each separate part of the body is shown to be affected by the movement of the whole figure, the more perfect will the work of sculpture be in this respect. The torso of a perfect statue ought to relate the action of the whole figure. Though Pheidias has merely given the upper extremities of Helios and his horses, it is clear to the most untrained eye that the action of the entire figures, of which merely this small portion is seen, is that of a rapid ascent. And yet with all this boldness, action and vigour, with all the life that is put

into the modelling of the surface[1], this vitality and action is never gained at the expense of largeness of treatment. The outline is no restless one though it be bold, the arms and shoulder though strong and muscular do not present a small succession of lines as in a Farnese Herakles, the horses though they are real and living, and as it were foaming, are not over-individualised by small lines and wrinkles, but present relatively large, restful surfaces within the movement of the whole. No amount of action robs them of that monumental breadth of treatment and firmness of modelling which we have seen[2] to be the characteristic of the style of Pheidias.

The next figure towards the centre is that of a nude youthful male figure (Plate VI.) half reclining half seated upon the skin of some animal spread over a rock. It is a perfect type of youthful strength without any exaggeration, in which each part and limb of the body stands in harmonious proportion to the other parts and to the whole of the figure, and all give the picture of harmonious physical life. This we have called the Type[3]. The skin upon which he is seated cannot be considered in the light of an attribute, it is not the *nebris*, nor is it the lion's skin of Herakles; for, as Brunn has remarked[4], the head of the animal would have been added if there had been any attributive meaning attached to the skin.

Among the interpretations of this figure there are two distinct groups: (*a*) those that consider the youth to be a divine personage, whether god or demigod; and (*b*) those who see in him a personification of nature of the class of Helios. Class (*a*) again subdivides itself into two groups: those who see in him a god (Pan[5] and Dionysos[6]), and those who see in him a hero or

[1] A small portion of the neck of Helios though browned by age still retains the original surface (a similar portion is to be seen in the back of the thigh of Kephissos from the western pediment), and these portions, small though they be, convey an idea of the exquisite finish of these statues and of the "love" with which they were worked, independent of the effect they would produce upon the spectator. For these preserved portions of the original surface were not seen, being on the back of the figures towards the tympanum, and it is thus that they were preserved from corrosion.

[2] See Essay II. pp. 78—80.

[3] See Essay II. p. 51.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 4 and 5.

[5] Reuvens, *Classical Journal*, 1823, p. 175.

[6] Wilkins, *R. Walpole's Travels in various Countries of the East*, Lond. 1820, p. 409; Lloyd; Michaelis; Petersen.

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OLYMPOS FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

demigod (Kekrops[1], Herakles[2], Theseus[3], and Kephalos[4]). Several of the upholders of one or other of these interpretations have entered upon a critical examination of the attributions differing from their own. It is not my purpose to enter upon such discussions here.

However, taking them as groups, I cannot help feeling that, if a god, his position, thus severed from the main scene and placed at the utmost end, would be out of keeping with the method of clearly conveying the artist's meaning adopted in such compositions. As we shall see presently, the side groups are distinctly separated from the central scene, and the three figures adjoining Helios and Selene at either end are, in position and action, rather on a level with these than in the region of the divine beings, the partakers in, or immediate witnesses of, the central action. For Pan the figure is too youthful. And for Dionysos, even if he were not represented as the bearded, mature personality of the heroic and archaic age and the middle of the fifth century, we should at least then expect some of the softness both in attitude and modelling which we notice in the figure in the frieze of this temple, considered by Flasch to be Dionysos. The very comparison with the Dionysos from the frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysikrates which is used as an argument in favour of this interpretation, will show the essential difference between the two figures in this respect. The Dionysos on the frieze of the Choragic monument is softly and languidly reclining; there is a waviness and relaxation in the whole pose which corresponds to the conception of the god of pleasure not yet made a god of revelry or of dissipation. So far as now traceable, the same softness is carried out in the modelling of

[1] Falkener, *Museum of Class. Antiq.* I. p. 353, and Welcker in 1845 (in 1818 Jakchos).

[2] Leake, *Topogr. of Athens*, p. 232; Weber, in *Morgenblatt für gebild. Stände* (*Kunstblatt*, ed. Schorn), Stuttgart, 1821, p. 213; Visconti, *Opere Varie*, III. p. 91 and p. 306; Cockerell, *Br. Museum Marbles*, VI. p. 18; Gerhard, *Drei Vorlesungen über Gypsabgüsse*, p. 29; Ronchaud, *Phidias, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, p. 249; Friedrichs, *Bausteine* &c., p. 141.

[3] Combe, *Synopsis of the Contents of the Brit. Mus.*; Cockerell (does not decide between Theseus and Herakles); Millingen, *Annali dell' Instit.* &c., IV. p. 198 seq.; Overbeck.

[4] Bröndsted, *Reisen und Untersuchungen*, II. p. 11. seq.

the figure. In the pedimental figure, on the other hand, without exaggerated muscular strength, there is, at least, an absence of softness which is positively marked. If a god at all, Ares would appear to me the interpretation most in keeping with the artist's mode of presenting the characteristics of this figure. But in fact all such views seem to me untenable.

Against all the interpretations of this figure as a hero or demigod I can but urge one objection which appears to me all-important. I cannot conceive Pheidias or any great artist committing a breach of good sense in a flagrant anachronism, though the scene be in the regions of the wonder-working gods of Greek mythology. How can the heroes and demigods whose relation to Athene is that of enjoyers of her patronage be present at her birth as full-grown men? Surely the absurd cannot take shelter under the mythical and miraculous, and not only a genius like Pheidias but also the clear-thoughted Greek people would recognise its ludicrous face even under its hiding of myth and religious faith.

For reasons which will become more evident the further we proceed, the identification of this statue with a personification of nature appears to me more in keeping with the whole composition and the treatment of the figure itself. This view was first put forward by Brunn, who sees in this figure the genius of Mount Olympos, upon whose side the rising Helios is driving his horses, and on whose summit is the seat of the gods, and the scene of the action represented in the pediment.

The artistic treatment of this figure is one of the best instances of that characteristic combination of lifelike reality coupled with largeness of line and breadth and 'monumentality' of treatment, which we have considered to be the vital principle of sculpture and the element of greatness in the art of Pheidias. Every line and part of the surface, every limb, the composition of the parts, and the attitude of the whole figure, are replete with the life of nature; and still there is an absence of all that is accidental and savours of the individual, of all that is bound down to what is ephemeral. We feel that the very life and rhythm of such a figure will last for a period measured by the durability of stone, and that in its large forms it is worthy of such massive material. This breadth and firmness is carried out in the large

tranquil outline of the figure, in the broad lines of the attitude not only in its profile view, but also in the front view[1]. And all this width in attitude is bound into the completeness of a compact composition. Starting from the fixed point of the head the wavy profile lines run in a large curve down to the feet and radiate out into an elliptical form along either extended leg, meeting at the feet, where all lines are again joined into one point of unity. This breadth and firmness are especially noticeable in the modelling of the surface: all half-tones and small lines are avoided, the texture of the nude, though suggesting elasticity and suppleness, presents large masses, firm and compact without being rigid, broad and large without being bare and hard. It is in the modelling of the nude in this figure that is to be found that largeness which I have referred to[2] as being the outcome of the character of an artist, which is independent of the immediate reproduction of nature or the actual dimensions of a figure; it is the difference of character between the work of a Pheidias and of the Pergamene sculptors, between that of a Michelangelo and of a Bernini. But besides this general character of Pheidias's treatment there is a marked accentuation of the firmness of muscle in this statue, which Brunn has well contrasted with the quality of the nude in the figures from the pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Adjoining this figure towards the centre are two draped female figures seated side by side (Plate VII.). The first is

[1] For this attitude from the front view Dr J. Langbehn once used to me the happy term '*das aufgebrochene Schema.*' Compare earlier pedimental figures, as, for instance, the Aegina marbles, and it will be seen that the rhythm or movement of the figures is only in the direction from centre to angle and back, the view which the spectator gets being that which corresponds to high reliefs. In this figure, however, Pheidias seems to have been the first to give that plastic roundness and breadth even to his pedimental figures, and to have widened out the lines of his figure with regard to the depth. When we bear in mind that the depth of the pediment was but three feet, we have here again an instance of the great technical skill of Pheidias in accommodating his art to such strict limitations. No doubt the figures are to be seen from the side, and this quality of the front view was not very noticeable in itself. Yet though this point is not seen in itself, it adds to the broad effect of the whole, even when the figure is merely seen in profile. As we shall have occasion to notice in the frieze, this is a case in which careful and true work, giving full consideration to the outer material condition of the limits of space, is made a means of adding the highest artistic quality to the work.

[2] See Essay II. p. 80.

apparently smaller than the other and is leaning her left arm on the shoulder of her companion, who, with her right arm uplifted, is turned towards the advancing messenger goddess. They are clad in the sleeveless chiton of thin material, while the heavier diploïdion, hanging from the right arm, falls over the knees, and in the case of the more central one has the one end suspended between the knees. There is evidently a close relationship between the two figures, the one resting upon the shoulder of the other. The first from the angle is somewhat lower than the second. This, as well as the fact that the first, leaning upon the second, appears in a somewhat dependent position as regards her companion, has been made a strong point in the interpretation, inasmuch as the figures have not been conceived to hold a coordinate position, but the first has been considered to be the younger attendant or daughter of the second. So the greatest number of archaeologists[1] call them Persephone with her mother Demeter. Leake holds the first to be Peitho, the second Aphrodite. While the interpretation of Hera and Demeter would have much in its favour, if we considered the angles of the pediments to be occupied by great gods, I do not think the fact of the arm of the first being placed on the shoulder of the second is a clear indication of subordination, be it in age or in a relationship such as that of mother and daughter. Nor do I think that the somewhat greater altitude of the second figure as compared with the first is an important confirmation of this assumption. For this difference of height in the two statues does not point to a marked difference in the height of the two figures if we were to consider them standing erect in life; it is caused by the attitude given to them by the artist; the one is seated further back on the seat and somewhat bent, as is natural in such a position, while the other is seated forward, or rather has moved herself forward from a previously more restful position and is thus perfectly erect, corresponding to an attitude of active attention. Pheidias has here, as in the central slab from the frieze[2], transformed what primarily was but a

[1] Weber (who strangely considers the first to be Ceres and the second Proserpina), Visconti, Combe, Reuvens (as Weber), Cockerell, Gerhard, Falkener (as Weber), Ronchaud (as Weber), Michaelis, and Petersen, all hold this view.

[2] See Essay VII.

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concession to the pressure of composition not incidental to the meaning of the scene depicted, to a delicate but no less essential contribution to the organic growth of the whole action as it culminates in the centre of the composition. For the more accidental pressure of formal composition was the triangular space of the pediment. This he had to fill, the height growing with every advance towards the centre, and thus the greater height of the space occupied by the second figure had to be filled up with a figure of the same class as the first of the two female figures. What would thus be a mere outer condition of space he turned into an instrument of plastically expressing inner meaning, in manifesting by the more erect and advancing attitude the growing interest and participation in the scene that takes place in the centre on the part of one of the side figures which are not immediate actors or immediate spectators of the central drama. If the difference in height is to be a serious ground for assuming that they are not coordinate, then this might still more strongly be urged in the case of the two seated figures at the other end of the pediment, where again the difference of space has led the artist to seat the one figure perfectly erect while the other is bending over the figure reclining in her lap.

Another group of interpreters, those who consider the nude male figure to be Kekrops, and the whole group of three figures to be the family of the royal founder of Athens, hold that these two female figures are two of the three daughters of Kekrops, Thallo and Auxo[1]. Bröndsted believes them to be the Hours. Finally, Brunn sees in them two Horae (they were worshipped in Athens as two, not three) who had charge of the portals of heaven, on Olympos[2]. As Brunn's interpretation of the nude male figure is the one which conveys the greatest probability to my mind, so his interpretation of these two figures, in keeping with his central idea which we shall consider more

[1] Millingen, Welcker (1845), Overbeck, Lloyd (Karpo and Thallo), hold this view.

[2] *Il.* v. 749:

αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον Οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὧραι,
τῇς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας Οὐρανὸς, Οὔλυμπός τε,
ἠμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος, ἠδ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

closely as we proceed, has the greatest convincing power over me.

The pose of these figures is again large, broad and monumental. The outline is massive and the width of the lower part of the group gives it a character of solid restfulness and stability. This is attained in keeping the knees apart and in allowing the drapery to hang down at either side[1]. Within the variedness of pose in the two figures the two together have a certain symmetry which adds to the feeling of stability[2]. For if, for instance, the projecting outline of the knee on the one side were not counterbalanced by a similar line on the corresponding side of the other figure, the two figures as a whole would be one-sided and suggest a speedy falling over. And still the symmetry is not such as to make it an absolutely complete composition in itself, for the turn and erectness as well as the upraised arm of the upper figure drive the composition on towards the centre[3]. And though, as has just been pointed out, movement and attention are suggested in the forward and erect movement of the upper figure, still the whole attitude and composition are in the artistic treatment of the figure above all suggestive of rest and stability. This character is also maintained in the modelling of the draped figures. The lines of the folds, though far from straight or angular, are not rippling, but present large quiet curves. So in the lower figure the cross folds from the right ankle over the left knee present one long sweep from side to side. This is also the case in the perpendicular, the quiet fall of the folds over the right knee of the upper figure beginning on the side of the thigh and passing over the knee downwards between the legs. And notwithstanding this largeness the natural texture of the drapery in the smaller folds of the thinner under-garment and the larger system of lines in the thicker texture of the outer garment, as well as the change of texture between drapery and nude are rendered with perfect truth. Never has truth to nature as well in the modelling of the texture of the surface as in the proportion and interdependence of the parts of the body, in the pose and the individual action, been united with such

[1] See Essay IV. p. 125.
[2] See Appendix I. (Pythagoras of Rhegion &c.).
[3] See Essay II. p. 77.

breadth and monumentality of artistic character as in these works. They are replete with life; but it is a great life of form which is worthy of being transferred to lasting marble.

The last of the extant figures on this side of the pediment is that of an advancing female figure in drapery of heavy material[1]. She wears the Doric chiton open at the sides and a diploïdion over this reaching below the girdle in front and a little lower at the sides. A mantle of which but a part is remaining is blown out by the wind in the rapid forward movement of the figure. She is a youthful maiden, the form not fully developed, thin and with long limbs (probably to indicate her swiftness of movement). Her rapid advance is indicated by the driving back of her garment, especially between the legs, and in the large wavy folds of the mass below the knee of the advancing leg, while the drapery that covers the other leg is not so much affected by the wind. The mantle flapping in the wind shows her swift course. And still with all this movement there is a firmness in the whole figure and in the lines of drapery, a largeness of outline, even in the long folds caused by the rapid movement, which are not to be found in other figures representing similar movement. The figure which is nearest it in form and character, the Chiaramonti Niobide[2], has many cross lines of folds in the piece of mantle flying over waist and thigh, thus cutting and shortening the long wavy folds which here run from waist to foot in one quiet curve. Even the smaller folds of the drapery above the waist join on to the larger and longer ones below, and produce great, large, quiet lines, though they are the means of indicating the violent movement of the whole figure. With the exception of Welcker, who calls her Oreithyia, and Brunn, who considers her to be Hebe next to Hera, all authorities agree in calling her Iris, the messenger of Zeus, who is descending from the dwelling of the gods to announce the great event, the birth of Athene. I prefer to abide by the common interpretation. The news is received and heard by the first of the two Horae; the remaining figures are not yet affected by it. It must appear strange to those who see great gods in the three figures beyond, and in this one Iris bringing the news, that these gods should thus be severed from

[1] See Michaelis, Pl. VI. fig. G.

[2] See Essay I. p. 32, note 2.

the great event; and though something may be urged in favour of the chthonic character of Demeter and Kore, nothing can be said in favour of Dionysos or Ares, who surely ought not to be so distant from the action of the centre as to receive the news through a messenger.

Nothing more remains on this side of the pediment. To the right or northern half of the pediment six figures, more or less fragmentary, are assigned. At the angle is Selene with her horses, then come three female figures, one reclining and two seated, and then two others, a female figure in movement and the torso of a nude male figure (see Michaelis, pl. 6), of which the attribution is not so certain, inasmuch as they were not found *in situ*, as was the case with the others. The female figure, I believe, belongs to the western pediment. The male torso is evidently in an attitude of action. Both arms must have been raised and the figure is retreating backwards. Its position would be considerably nearer the centre than any of the other extant figures. It has been assumed to be Hephaistos or Prometheus, who, according to the various versions of the myth, cleft the head of Zeus whence Athene was born, and would here be retreating with wonder after having performed the act. The strong muscles of the torso are well defined and firm and large in their treatment. We are reminded of the fragment of the Poseidon from the western pediment. His position would probably be on the right or northern side of the centre. But I cannot in this place enter upon any discussion respecting this figure.

It may be questioned whether the moving female figure, I (in Michaelis), commonly called Nike, does not belong to the western pediment, as has been held by several archaeologists[1]. Visconti tells us that the figure was found in the eastern pediment. But as no trace of such a figure is found, either in Carrey's drawings or in those of Nointel's anonymous draughtsman or in Dalton, he seems to have meant the western pediment, which for a long time was considered the principal one. If we bear in

[1] Woods, *Antiq. of Athens*, IV. 22; Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres*, p. 81; Bötticher, *Arch. Zeit.* XXVIII. 60; Matz, *Göttinger Gelehrt. Anzeig.* 1871, p. 1948; Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 115; Brunn, *Sitzungsber. k. bayr. Akad.* 1874, II. p. 24.

mind that the drawings of the pediments were but sketches, and that, however valuable, they must not be held up as accurate reproductions of details, we cannot but be struck with the entire correspondence of this figure with the messenger on the right of the centre of the western pediment corresponding to Hermes on the left of the centre. If we compare this fragment with the figure in the drawings of the western pediment (with Carrey in respect of the treatment of folds in the drapery and with Nointel's anonymous draughtsman with regard to attitude and the grosser arrangement of the drapery as it covers the nude) we shall be astonished that any doubt could have been felt. The forward position of the right leg and the way the drapery leaves off above the knee, the right arm (and the left in Dalton), the characteristic triangular gathering of the drapery under the neck—all show the drawings to contain the sketch of this figure.

The only serious cause for doubt is found in two holes in the back, which served for the introduction of metal to fasten, as has been assumed, the wings of the figure. And it has fairly been assumed that some trace of these wings ought to have been seen by the early draughtsmen on the figure in the western pediment. It must not, however, be forgotten that the tympanum of this pediment was altered when the temple was turned into a Christian church, in that niches were placed behind Poseidon, and that the wings would then be removed. But what has misled archaeologists, is the fact that fragments of wings are really extant among the Parthenon remains. Now though, as is acknowledged[1], these wings do not at all fit into the cavities on the back of this figure, the fragments have unconsciously been brought into connexion with these cavities, and ever since, wings have been coupled with this figure, though these definite wings are not ascribed to it. But it appears to me that these cavities may equally well have served quite a different purpose. If we remember the shallowness of the pediment (three feet) and bear in mind that at this point there is a depth of two figures, namely the Nereid driving the chariot of Poseidon, and behind her this forward striding figure of which the upper part is leaning forward, we feel that there was a need of some support to keep her in that

[1] See Michaelis, p. 173.

position. No doubt there is also a double depth in the case of the Hermes on the other side of the centre of this pediment; but the Hermes is moving sideways and the weight of the figure is borne longitudinally, while this is moving and leaning forward. Thus the figure must have been fastened above by metal clamps let into the marble. The traces of bronze which Mr Watkiss Lloyd found on the left thigh show the use of bronze for purposes of support.

From these considerations I am led to agree with those who hold that this figure does not belong to the eastern pediment.

Corresponding to Helios with his horses we have on this side Selene with her horses, of which but one head and neck are remaining. As in the rhythm of the horses of Helios the uprising movement is powerfully suggested, so here in this grandly treated head we have the manifest descent with the marked suggestion of a certain resistance and shying back before the wet element. Selene is leaning forward, the arms drawn back holding the steeds, while the head must have been turned backwards. Petersen's description is very characteristic: "Selene turned back her head, as if wishing to cast a last glance on this world before parting, without any fixed aim. Through this checking of the onward movement, corresponding to the whole composition and the individual nature of Selene[1], the representation receives greater connectedness."

The remaining three female figures have generally been supposed to form one group, and have been interpreted accordingly as either the three Fates[2], or as the three sisters the daughters of Kekrops[3] personifying the morning dew, or finally, by Brunn, as the personifications of clouds. But it appears to me beyond a doubt that the three figures do not form one group[4],

[1] As compared with Helios Selene was considered less rapid in her movement; she thus sometimes has mules or oxen instead of horses.

[2] By Visconti, Combe, Welcker (1818), Wilkins, Reuvens, Bröndsted, Cockerell, Millingen, Müller, Gerhard, Falkener, Lloyd.

[3] Welcker (1845), Overbeck, Michaelis who retains Pandrosos, but calls the two others Thallo and Karpo.

[4] My views on this point have not been altered by Mr Watkiss Lloyd's paper (*The Portfolio*, April 1883, p. 79 sq.) which has appeared since this was written.

but that the seated figure towards the centre is distinctly separated from the other two figures which belong together. Friedrichs was the first to recognise the separateness of the upper seated figure from the lower two. Michaelis (p. 168), though he admits that the upper seated figure is separate from the other two and is not closely related to them, considers it most probable that they nevertheless form one group, "not so much because of the same form of dress, the chiton with sleeves, as because of the minor sequence of the *motives*."[1] Now to my mind the *motives* are the very grounds that make it appear necessary to consider them separated into a group of two figures and one single figure.

In the first place, the whole action of the upper figure is turned away from the two others, who, on their part, are not immediately affected by the action of the upper one, nor is their action (entirely centred within the two as it is) directed towards the upper one.

But above all, in endeavouring to recognise and appreciate such fragmentary remains of a great composition of the master-sculptor, we are bound to hold before our attention the chief features of the art of Pheidias, in this case, of his composition of pedimental groups. One of these main features in the pedimental sculpture of Pheidias is the manifest symmetry of composition obtaining between the two halves of the pediment. This symmetry however, as we have seen, is not absolute, as in the purely conventional decoration of architecture; but is strongly modified, in keeping with the life which such a work of sculpture represents. The modifications of this symmetry correspond to the essential inner character and the outer constructive destination, the combination of which makes a work of decorative sculpture. A pedimental composition is a plastic work which is to fit into and to contribute to the decoration of the architectural structure. Both these elements, the plastic as well as the constructive and decorative, have to be regarded and to receive due share in their claims to consideration, and neither must obtrude itself to the detraction of the other. The symmetrical correspondence of the

[1] *Weniger wegen der gleichmässigen Bekleidung mit dem Aermelchiton, als wegen der inneren Aufeinanderfolge der Motive.*

two halves of the composition must not be so absolute as to rob the whole scene and the individual figures of the flow of actual life and movement; and the rhythmical variedness of general distribution and grouping, as well as the attitude and lines of single figures within the two halves of the pediment, must not be so pronounced as to suggest one-sidedness in the front of an edifice in placing more figures, fuller lines, greater movement, or even deeper moral meaning on either half of what is the very brow of the structure.

I have attempted in the previous Essay to bring out the nature of this "varied symmetry" in the composition of the western pediment. We have there seen how, for instance, either extreme angle is symmetrical in that it contains a river-god and a nymph; but that this symmetry is varied and made rhythmical, in that in the one angle we have the river-god first, followed by the nymph, while in the other the nymph precedes the river-god. The same principles are clearly manifested in the remains of the eastern pediment.

In perfect symmetry we here have in either angle four human figures together with horses, and the space they occupy in either half of the pediment is the same almost with mathematical accuracy. On each side we have some deity driving the horses which complete the composition at either end; then follow three figures on either side. Of these three figures on both sides, one is reclining and two are seated. So far the symmetry. The same obtains in earlier compositions, such as the pediments of the Temple of Athene at Aegina. But here it is that Pheidias makes a great step in advance of his predecessors, in that he breaks in upon the absolute correspondence which makes the Aegina pediments conventional, at least with regard to the composition, and introduces, within the symmetry, elements of variety and change in distribution which give all the flow of artistic life to his symmetrical and reposeful compositions[1]. In the left wing Helios is in the extreme angle with

[1] It is here that symmetry becomes converted into harmony. All the arts that deal with human emotions or even with organic life as life (not as the conventionalised life of plants and animals in architecture and decoration) have harmony in contradistinction to symmetry as their fundamental principle. While symmetry consists of a more or less absolute correspondence of the parts among each other, harmony is, as

his horses in front of him. In the right wing the horses are in the extreme angle with Selene behind them. In the next case the reclining figure is a man, in the other a woman.

The next stage to these, on both sides, consists of three figures; the one nearest the angles in each case reclining, the upper two seated. But here again is variety within the symmetry. On the left side the reclining figure is male, and independent of the upper two female figures, which are associated together; while on the right side the reclining figure is female, and rests upon the lap of the nearest female figure above, and it is here the uppermost figure which is independent of the lower two. It may be noticed, too, that the very facts of the workmanship point to the same view. On the right, the reclining figure forms one block, and the two seated figures above are carved from another; while, on the left, it is the uppermost figure which forms one block, and the other seated figure with the one reclining in her lap are together carved from another.

Thus, from the general composition of the pediment we are driven, whichever way we look at it, to the natural conclusion that, on the right hand side, with which we are at present more immediately concerned, the uppermost seated figure is independent, and that the lower seated figure and the one reclining in her lap are in close relationship to one another.

When once we conceive of these three female figures as not equally joined among each other in interest and attitude, but subdivided, so that the two towards the extremity are more closely and intimately connected with one another than they are with the third seated one, all those interpretations in which a mutual relation in meaning and weight between the three figures is the essential idea, where the threeness is the basis of the mythological personality of each one in the group, appear to me to be untenable.

The authorities who, besides Friedrichs, do not consider the three figures thus connected are Leake, Weber, and Petersen. The

even the ancient Herakleitos of Ephesus has put it, "the unity of difference," of different parts. The more such an art rises from symmetry into harmony, the higher will it be in developement. Thus polyphonous music is a higher state of that art than the mere unison and melody. The Aegina Pediment is monotone, the Parthenon Pediment polyphonous.

two former were under the misapprehension that the eastern pediment was the back of the temple and represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon. Leake interpreted the figure nearest the centre as Vesta, the other two as Ceres reclining in the lap of her daughter Proserpine. Weber considered the whole of this side to have some relation to Poseidon, and thus named the first Rhode, the other two Thalassa reclining at the knee of Amphitrite[1].

Petersen sees in the upper seated figure Hestia, the personification of the human hearth, while in the two others he sees Aphrodite reclining in the lap of Peitho, her subordinate companion. Of all the interpretations given of the upper seated figure this one of Petersen's (which is also Leake's) seems to me to have most in its favour and to be most in keeping with the firm stately and quiet attitude of the figure. And this is not diminished by the fact that, as Brunn has pointed out, Carrey's drawings disprove Petersen's restoration of the right arm leaning on a staff. It appears to me likely that this was held in the left hand of the figure; and a scooping-out of the marble on the back of the neighbouring statue appears to have made room for the hand so that the sceptre would become visible behind and over the shoulder of the second figure.

In this figure again we have the characteristic firmness[2] and breadth of modelling in the quiet large lines of the drapery; the same style is also maintained in the seated figure below her.

Let us now turn to the two remaining statues of this pediment (Plate VIII.), and begin with the examination of the reclining

[1] The articles containing Weber's conjectures can hardly be found by means of the reference under which they are usually quoted, namely Schorr's *Kunstblatt*, 1821, p. 213. They were a series of letters written from Venice and appearing in the Art Supplement (Beiblatt) of a daily paper which appeared at Tübingen called *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* Nos. 54, 55, 56, July 5, 9, 12, 1821. It will be seen that the interpretation of one of these figures corresponds to the new interpretation I propose to give. But I can hardly consider this a confirmation, inasmuch as Weber's whole interpretation is founded upon the erroneous notion that this was the back pediment representing the strife between Athene and Poseidon; besides which his special grounds of interpretation are quite different.

[2] See Petersen, *ibid.* p. 142, who dwells upon the pronounced firmness of this figure.

J.J CAUL DEL.

LITH. BY CARL LEONH. BECKER.

THALASSA AND GAIA FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

figure. In the composition and modelling of all the statues from this pediment, so far as we have examined them, we have noticed as the chief and most manifest characteristics, the firmness and compactness of the figures, the quiet and large lines of the folds of the drapery. This character has even been maintained in a case where in later art the sculptor would have delighted in the occasion granted him to represent a rippling and flowing fall of drapery, namely, in the case of the messenger goddess Iris hastening through the air. In the reclining female figure of the right wing of this pediment, however, there is a marked exception to this typical composition of the human figure and characteristic treatment of drapery. And if we bear in mind, what has been pointed out before, that a work of sculpture, especially such a great composition, is not the immediate outcome of a momentary artistic inspiration, but of long, careful, and thoughtful work, and if furthermore we well consider that Pheidias knew and utilised all the scale and shading of form and composition as a means to convey definite impressions and ideas, then we shall not be likely to pass over such exceptional artistic treatment in studying the meaning of this statue, but shall use these 'lapidary' letters, words, and phrases as the safest and most important guides to a correct interpretation.

The whole body of this reclining figure appears elongated and more lightly put together than that of the other female figures in this pediment. I was pleased to hear this remark made to me quite spontaneously by one who had no preconceived notions concerning the special interpretation of this figure, while standing before the statue in the British Museum. The nature of the reclining attitude, the junction of the limbs, and even the texture of the nude indicate a greater flaccidity than is to be found in the other statues. But when further we examine the drapery with regard to the lines of the folds, we notice a distinct principle which is not to be found in the other figures, one which no drawing can convey with the same clearness as is to be found in the original. Instead of the large and comparatively straight lines of the greater masses of folds as they are to be found in the upper seated figure, or the long simple curve of the folds in the drapery of Iris or those that run over the thigh and the knee of the upper seated figure in the left half of

the pediment (Pl. VII.), we have in this reclining figure complex masses that intertwine restlessly and even in the larger folds present a series of curves in various directions. Thus a line is taken up in the drapery covering the breast, twines its way down to the waist, is interrupted there by the girdle; slightly checked, it resumes its course, till it is stopped by and merged into the broader lines of the mantle that crosswise lead over the rounded thigh to the other leg, where all the lines seem lost in a raised mass, like the spray of a wave dashed against a rock. But this peculiarly restless, surging, and fluent quality of the drapery is chiefly manifest in the abundance of the smaller lines and folds and their treatment. It is true that in the under-garments of the other figures we have small lines, but they are comparatively straight and simple. In this figure, however, they appear to glide over the breast and ripple over the limbs in small undulations that suggest the fluid. Nay, even in the thick material of the cloth upon which she is reclining, with its larger masses, there is a suggestion of the fluid rhythm as of the lapping of waves. This general impression of the whole figure has been best summed up by Petersen[1] in these words: "the body is full of glowing life as fresh and warm as marble can be, and the folds, the stronger ones of the mantle as the more delicate ones of the under-garment, play about the forms with thousand-fold movement, especially over lap and bosom, like softly trembling waves of limpid water over its clear and lucent bed."

Recognising this marked character, which the sculptor has given to this figure by means of the language of his art, we must not be blind to it when we desire to ascertain the meaning of the representation as a whole. And if we wish to find the direction in which we are to utilise these facts, we need but turn to a similar case in the works of Pheidias and compare the nude reclining male figure from this eastern pediment (Pl. VI.), with the reclining youth from the western pediment (Pl. III.). In the attitude and modelling of the nude youth from this eastern pediment we have firmness and largeness of line, as in the figure from the western pediment we have fluency and restlessness of line. And it has ever been admired with what wonderful artistic skill

[1] P. 131.

Pheidias has been able to indicate in the treatment of the nude figure in the western pediment the nature of a river-god in contradistinction to the solid stability of the figure whom we consider to be the mountain-god Olympos. I would maintain that in the case of this female figure these indications are almost clearer than in the case of the Kephissos, even as drapery is an additional and more facile means of suggesting the personification of the fluid element. What personification of the liquid element this figure represents is determined again by the nature of the whole subject represented in this pediment and the mode of the composition of the scene as here adopted. It cannot be prejudicial to the recognition of what is to be demonstrated in the further course of our inquiry, to anticipate the results of this investigation in simply stating that I consider this figure to be the personification of the sea, Thalassa, leaning on the lap of the firmer figure beside her, Gaia, the personification of the land[1].

From the indications in the extant figures of this eastern pediment as well as from the principles of composition which we have learned to recognise in studying the western pediment, of which Carrey's drawings give us so fair an idea, we are able to perceive the main divisions within this representation of the birth of Athene.

Pheidias, the true artist, realises in his works the fundamental principle of art, which leads to the production of works in which there is perfect harmony between form and matter. How this principle is realised in separate statues, we have seen in a previous Essay[2]. In a combination of such figures as in the composition of a pedimental group, the realisation of this principle demands, in addition to these principles of pure plastic art, that the disposition of the single figures within this definite prescribed space should correspond to the meaning and the spirit of what is represented in the composition as a whole. The prescribed space which is to contain the scene depicted by

[1] This interpretation is not affected by the existence of the Madrid Puteal (Don José de Villa Amil y Castro, *Museo español de antiguëdades*, 1875, Pl. I; R. Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena*, Wien, 1880, Pl. I. 1). The composition of the Puteal is too different to admit of any connexion between its group of three female figures and the figures of the right angle of the pediment of the Parthenon.

[2] See Essay II. p. 44, seq.

a combination of statues is that encompassed by a triangle, in which the highest and most central part is that above the perpendicular from the centre of the base, the space diminishing gradually towards either end as we leave the centre. The most important part of the scene represented will therefore correspond to the highest space and the most central position in the pediment; and the less important or less closely connected with the central action a part of the scene may be, the smaller will be the height assigned to it, the more it will be removed from the centre and towards either angle. So too, as we normally begin with the less important and gradually rise to the more important, we naturally here begin at either low angle and rise to the centre of the pediment.

In the western pediment, according to Pausanias, was represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic soil. In the eastern pediment was represented the birth of Athene. As in the western pediment the chief event is placed in the centre, so in the eastern pediment the chief and immediate participators in the action are also placed in the centre of the composition; and the further the figures are removed from the centre, the less immediately are they concerned with the great event. Or, to begin from the ends (where there are no signs of an immediate interference in, or even reflection of, the chief event), we rise gradually and organically through the stage of awakening and growing interest up to the participators in the action and the actors themselves. And the organic growth of interest and action, as starting from the angles we near the centre, is manifested from the more technical side in that the lines of the statues lead and drive directly to the centre the further we proceed away from the angles[1], and in that the personalities represented in the statues by means of their attitude and action, as well as (when these were extant) by means of their attributes which clearly showed their personal relationship to the central event, manifest greater interest and more active participation in the chief event the more we near the centre.

Within this gradual and organic growth in the interest of the action, as borne out by the individual figures and their artistic

[1] See Essay IV. pp. 117, 118.

treatment, we can however distinguish broad and definite divisions. It is well for us to examine these from the point of view of the subject represented, and also the more purely artistic features of the composition as such.

With regard to the subject represented, we find that in the scene of the birth of Athene there are three main divisions: first, the immediate participators in the action; secondly, the passive participators, namely, those who are present at the event and are affected by it, but do not immediately influence it; and thirdly, those not immediately participators in the event, who are not present at the action, yet, who, as they approach the centre, become indirectly affected by it. Within these three groups the most marked division, the one which puts the greatest tax upon the imagination of the spectator, is that existing between the third group and the two others. For the first two groups, the actors and immediate spectators, are strongly bound together in that the latter are immediately affected by what they perceive with their senses, and in that they are all in the same place. In the third group, however, the individuals do not physically participate in the action, even passively, and they are in a different locality. To produce any connexion between these figures (which form as it were the background of the composition) and the chief event, as well as to bridge over the greater gap in this division and to make the meaning clear to the spectator, intermediary figures had to be introduced on either side. These figures, Iris and probably Hermes, bring the news of the event from the seat of the gods to the figures at either angle, thus assisting in producing the gradual shading off of the prominent colours of the foreground of the action itself to the gradually receding background, so that the scene, which the first group acts, and the second group sees, dies away into oral transmission of what has happened, to those affected by the event merely through reflected speech. The mere presence of these messengers itself shows most distinctly that the figures to whom they are communicating the news belong to a different sphere from the gods in the centre. As we start from either angle, which may be looked upon as the background of the whole scene, the figures are comparatively indifferent to the proceedings in the centre, until they are seen beginning to be

affected by the neighbouring figures, the highest of whom is roused by the tidings conveyed by the messenger from the seat of the gods. Here, as it were, we pause to hear the news, and then, as in the western pediment, with a rush we are immediately brought into the presence of those who witnessed the event, and we see the actors before us.

In the same way, in the more formal aspect of the composition as such, these broader divisions within the whole group are distinctly marked by means of certain pauses in the outline rhythm of the composition, as well as in the change of line, attitude, and inner rhythm, marking each of these new stages. These indications of subdivision by means of the more formal treatment in compositions of sculpture are analogous to the subdivision in works of poetry by means of stanzas and changes in metre; in music, by means of pauses and transitions from one key or time to another; in books, by means of paragraphs and chapters. All these subdivisions do not detract from the unity[1] of the whole work, but, on the contrary, add to the organic variedness and life of the work as a whole. I have indicated these broader subdivisions in the composition by means of perpendicular lines (Fig. 5), the finer ones indicating the less marked, the thicker ones the more marked transitions. Though the central groups are not extant in the eastern pediment, Carrey's drawing of the western pediment enables us by analogy to restore the missing group of the eastern pediment, at least with regard to the broader disposition of the figures. And this we are still better enabled to do when we remember that the centre must have contained Zeus and Athene in the presence of the gods.

As in the western pediment there is a distinct central group consisting of those immediately concerned in the action, namely, Athene and Poseidon, and there is a distinct change of line on either side of these two figures, so, in the eastern pediment, there must have been a distinct central group, consisting of Zeus and Athene with Hephaistos on one side and a corresponding figure on the other. The space, below the Nike driving the chariot of Athene to the angle of the pediment in the western, corresponds

[1] See Essay II. p. 77.

to the space from Iris to Helios inclusive in the eastern pediment; and thus the comparatively large space occupied by Nike with her chariot and horses, and Hermes, in the western pediment, would in the eastern pediment amply accommodate four or five standing figures in the corresponding space. This second group would in action, interest, attitude, and general rhythm of the lines be directed towards the centre, and would thus be markedly severed from the next figure towards the angle, the extant Iris[1], who is turned, and in her movements drives towards the angle, away from the centre; while in outline and in the rhythmical treatment of lines, this first erect figure, in rapid movement coming from an opposite direction, is markedly distinct from the restful and seated figure beyond her towards the angle and belonging to the other division in the composition.

Here too, in the more formal aspect of the lines of the composition, the figure Iris bridges over the chief gap between the erect figures in action in the centre and the seated and reclining figures in rest towards the angle. There is finally a slighter subdivision corresponding to that between the most central group and the surrounding gods, between the reclining nude Olympos and the rising horses of Helios. Yet these evidently belong to the same sphere, and the horses that are shying back seem almost to do so before the powerful youth reclining before them.

The result of the examination of the composition of this eastern pediment shows that the figures on either side to whom the messengers bring the news from the sphere of the gods, are, by the very introduction of such messengers as well as by the formal indications of the composition, severed from the gods in locality, in action, and in meaning. They are, if we may say so, on a different logical plane, and belong to a different species of mythological representation. What this different sphere of

[1] I have purposely limited myself to the one half of the composition in here dealing with both the eastern and western pediments, to avoid confusion in an exposition, which, from the somewhat microscopical nature of the examination of things generally considered and examined in a vague manner, requires such limitation. Both in Carrey's drawings of the western pediment and in the extant figures of the eastern pediment this half of the composition is more complete. And moreover what, from our point of view, we can establish with regard to one half of these compositions, also holds good for the other half.

meaning is, is indicated by the Kephissos in the western pediment, and by Helios and Selene that form part of this very division in this pediment. Helios and Selene are here conceived purely as personifications of nature, and not as Apollo and Artemis, who must have been present among the gods in the centre; and the figures that come immediately next to them are also thus conceived as the personifications of the surroundings of the great scene in the centre of the composition.

Thus, from the composition alone, we are led to expect in the nude figure beside Helios some personification of the nature of Olympos, and in the two figures beside Selene, some such characters as Gaia and Thalassa. And this will more strongly impress itself upon our mind when we consider the cosmic character given to the event of the birth of Athene in the Homeric Hymn to Athene, which undoubtedly also pervaded the composition of Pheidias. In the Homeric Hymn

> "...Wonder strange possessed
> The everlasting gods that shape to see,
> Shaking a javelin keen, impetuously
> Rush from the crest of aegis-bearing Jove.
> Fearfully heaven was shaken, and did move
> Beneath the might of the cerulean-eyed;
> Earth dreadfully resounded, far and wide,
> And, lifted from his depths, the sea swelled high
> In purple billows; the tide suddenly
> Stood still; and great Hyperion's son long time
> Checked his swift steeds: till, where she stood sublime,
> Pallas from her immortal shoulders threw
> The arms divine. Wise Jove rejoiced to view[1]."
>
> SHELLEY'S *Translation*.

If we were to translate into sculpture this poetic description in the hymn we should have the composition of the eastern

[1] VV. B—16: σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας
ἀθανάτους· ἡ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
ἐσσυμένως ὤρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,
σείσασ' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὄλυμπος
δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης γλαυκώπιδος· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν· ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος,
κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος· ἔκχυτο [or ἔγχυτο] δ' ἅλμη
ἐξαπίνης· στῆσεν δ' Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς
ἵππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον, εἰσόκε κούρη
εἵλετ' ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοείκελα τεύχη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· γήθησε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

pediment. This does not mean that Pheidias slavishly followed the poet, as little as he did so in his representation of the Olympian Zeus, in which he was inspired, as ancient authority has it, by a passage in the Iliad[1]. The description of the event in the hymn is full of powerful violent action and movement. But Pheidias was in practice too conscious of the essential principles of his art to attempt at producing great effects by the same means as are used by the poet. He knew that while poetry grew in the strength of its impressiveness with the thrilling vigour of its action, sculpture was most impressive the more it was monumental; therefore his Olympos, his sea and earth, are not trembling, quaking, and roaring with the violence of a moment, but are softened down to a great rest by the monumental treatment of the human forms given them.

The next important question to be answered before this interpretation can be accepted or even deemed admissible as one of the hypotheses, is: whether immediate personifications of nature, and more especially those of Thalassa and Gaia were familiar to the Greek people, so far as we can judge from their occurrence in art and in literature? Yet I would here remark that though, as will be shown, this class of ideas is not foreign to Greek literature, the frequency or unfrequency of its occurrence here is not at all of the same vital importance for the question as its occurrence in art. And I would lay especial stress upon this fact, because I have often noticed in the treatment of such questions the disturbing and distorting influence of the "philological" character which clings to archaeological inquiry, and to which reference has been made in the first Essay[2]. Frequently a host of apparently learned quotations, which might have strengthened the results of unbiassed and sound archaeological method, have been adduced in formidable array to prove, quite by themselves, some specifically archaeological point, even though the unprejudiced observation and study of the monuments themselves would have run counter to the conclusions thus arrived at. Even a limited amount of reading of mythological passages in Greek literature will often make it possible to adduce a considerable number of instances that will speak for

[1] See Essay II. p. 58, and p. 70 seq.

[2] See Essay I. p. 30.

or against any assumption, especially when theogony and cosmogonic conceptions are introduced in which one divinity is either male or female, parent or offspring, friendly or inimical to others. It must be borne in mind that as Pheidias did not slavishly follow the poet, so Greek art, in its mythological representations, did not closely and servilely follow the mythology of Greek literature and religion, but often, out of the constructive character and the inner nature of its own mode of expression, introduced new types into mythology, modified old ones, and brought less important ones into prominence, thus vitally reacting upon the mythological system of religion and literature. And if this independent development of mythology in art is manifest throughout the whole history of Greek sculpture. it is essentially so with Pheidias, who, it has been remarked, was gifted with the innate independence and originality of genius, and was the child of a time which in itself marked the great change and advance in life and thought, religious, social, political, and domestic[1]. If we depended upon mythological literature alone, we could hope for but little support for the well-founded interpretation of figures in mythological scenes, like Helios distinct from Apollo, and Selene from Artemis, like the river gods Kephissos and Kladeos, and many similar personifications, who, nevertheless, without a doubt form prominent parts in the scenes representing the birth of Athene, the strife between Athene and Poseidon, the race between Pelops and Oinomaos. Still, without entirely basing our interpretation upon this, it will be an important support for us to show that such forms of ideas were not foreign to Greek literature. But above all it will be of consequence to show that such personifications were with frequency represented in ancient art.

Gaia in contradistinction to Demeter (who is a later modification of this earlier nature-goddess) was most commonly worshipped by the Greek people[2]. She had a throne and was worshipped in Eleusis[3], in Messenia, in Patrae[4], not far from Boura, and Aigai and the river Krathis[5], in Tegea[6], in Sparta[7],

[1] See Petersen, as quoted above, pp. 100—104.
[2] Arist. *Metaph.* I. 7; Plut. *Sympos.* VI. x. 3.
[3] Paus. IV. i. 4.
[4] Paus. VII. xxi. 4.
[5] Paus. VII. xxv. 8.
[6] Paus. VIII. xlviii. 6.
[7] Paus. III. xi. 8; III. xii. 7.

in Cyrene[1], and in Kos[2]. She had ancient seats in Samothrace, Delphi, and Attica. In the pre-Thesean Athens, south of the Acropolis, Thucydides[3] mentions beside two other temples, only the temple of Zeus and Ge. On the Acropolis, where Pausanias[4] describes an ancient wooden statue representing Ge supplicating Zeus to rain, Erichthonios founds an altar to Ge Kourotrophos[5]. In the same city she had a sanctuary, together with Demeter Chloe, under the temple of Nike[6], and according to Pindar[7] there was a contest at her feast. She was also worshipped on the Demos Phlya, where she was called the "great one[8]".

The importance of the testimonies to a worship of Gaia and the personal character in the imagination of the people does not consist for us in the purely mythological aspect of the question, but lies in the fact that the personification of the earth as such was firmly established in the minds of the people, so that the personal goddess and the plastic symbol[9] for the actually visible earth constantly mingled in the minds and the speech of the ancient Greeks. When the Aeschylean Prometheus calls upon Air, River, Sea, Earth, and Sun as witnesses, he *invokes* them, though he probably merely thought of nature as Welcker[10] has admirably put it: "Readily the poets commingled the personal and the material earth, as for instance Sophocles in the Antigone[11]". The feeling of the worship of the native soil was also blended with the acquired doctrines of the theogonic Gaia, as when Sophocles makes the pious Œdipus invoke in parting Gaia and the Olympian gods[12].

In mythological literature Thalassa is less common than Gaia. She is sometimes more narrowly conceived of as the Mediterranean Sea in contradistinction to the Ocean[13], but is generally, together with other names, such as Amphitrite, Galene, a personification of the sea corresponding to the male personifica-

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* IX. 60.
[2] Antonin. Liber. XV. Compare Welcker, *Griech. Götterb.* I. p. 323.
[3] II. 15. [4] I. XXIV. 3. [5] Suid. Κουροτροφος; *Etym. M.* Κορεσθηναι.
[6] Paus. I. XXII. 3. [7] Pyth. IX. 1.
[8] Paus. I. XXXI. 2; IV. i. 4. See Welcker, as quoted above, III. 21, 22.
[9] See Essay I, p. 15 seq. [10] Ibid. I. p. 328.
[11] 338. θεῶν τε τὰν ὑπερτάταν Γᾶν, ἄφθιτον ἀκαμάτον ἀποτρύεται.
[12] *O. C.* or *O. T.* 1653. [13] Herodot. I. 1.

tions such as Pontos, Nereus, Thaumas, Phorkys, and others[1]; and in so far as Gaia is the mother of the Naiades[2] and of Pontos, a relation to Thalassa would also be of a maternal nature.

Thalassa also indicates the salt water in contradistinction to the sweet well, and so the sacred well in the temple of Athene Polias on the Acropolis, which was beside the sacred olive-tree, was called Thalassa. In the combination of these symbols sacred to Athene we have the peaceful union of land and water, as in the Tritogeneia, the epithet of Athene, we have an indication of the intimate relationship in Attica between Athene and Poseidon. Both these divinities were specially worshipped in Attica, and though Athene was essentially the patron goddess of the Athenians, she also had a close relation with the sea for this sea-faring and sea-loving people. It is only in that individual myth, represented in the western pediment of the Parthenon, that Athene and Poseidon are brought into opposition, that the one, as the protectress of the olive, and the other, as the ruler of the sea, are brought into discord. The gods and their symbols were in the devotion of the people firmly united on the Acropolis[3].

The other female personification of the sea, Galene, the calm sea, is often conceived of in literature in a fully personal form. So Kallimachos[4] calls Galene a great goddess; with Euripides[5] she is used as the sea in general. In one of the Anacreontea[6] she is even called 'soft-haired'.

As has already been stated, the facts that are really important evidence for our proposed interpretation of Thalassa and Gaia in the eastern pediment are the instances of definite

[1] Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* I. iv. 54. [2] Pindar, *Pyth.* IX. 16.

[3] The origin of the myth represented in the western pediment doubtless goes back to some one individual event. The miracle of the olive, here symbolical of the fertile land, which is being warred upon by the salt well, no doubt refers to an individual flood in which the advancing sea was checked by divine interposition in its course endangering the fertile land. At the same time I cannot doubt that Pheidias, moved by the recent victories over an aggressive foe from over the sea, who threatened the favourite land of Athene, had this political event more or less directly in his mind when, by means of mythological forms, he commemorated the indigenous strength given to the Athenian land by a patron goddess.

[4] In an epigram quoted by Athenaeus VII. p. 318.

[5] Hel. 1450. [6] Ed. Bergk, 56

personification of nature in general, and of Thalassa and Gaia in particular, in the works of Greek art. I shall draw attention to several among the numerous works of Greek art of this kind that have come down to us in literary records or ancient remains. Some of these instances quoted belong to the best period of Greek art, some even to the archaic period, while the greatest number of monuments (as in the case with all classes of works of ancient art) belong to the later or Roman times. Yet even these last throw valuable light upon figures like those of the Parthenon pediment. For, as has been shown, for instance, with regard to the Capitoline gods in their relation to the Parthenon pediment[1], there is some influence of the one to be noticed upon the other; and, as Petersen has put it, "the later artists depended upon and clung to the types and compositions of the great old masters." We shall begin with works mentioned in ancient authors and seen by them, and proceed to the extant remains.

The personification of physical nature in ancient art was not only limited to the broad and great phenomena, but even dealt with definite localities[2]. Aeschylus[3] allows Europe and Asia to appear on the stage, and in one of the pictures of Polygnotos Marathon appeared as a hero[4]. Philostratos[5] describes a picture in which Lydia collects the blood of Panthia in a vase. Kithairon mourns and Megara plants a sepulchral pine[6]. The river-god Andros is represented on a bed of grapes and thyrsuses grow about him[7]. The river Melas is represented in youthful beauty[8]. The river Phasis is reclining in deep reeds, and from his whole body water streams[9]. The island of Skyros is painted in a bluish dress, crowned with reeds, and holds vines and olive-twigs. The river Alpheios jumps out of his bed to offer the victor's wreath to Pelops[10]. Battos is crowned by Libya[11]. Alcibiades is represented as being crowned by Olympia and Pythia,

[1] Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.* p. 79, seq.
[2] See Wörrmann, *Der landschaftliche Natursinn der Griechen*, p. 33.
[3] *Pers.* 186.
[4] Paus. I. xv. 3.
[5] *Eik.* II. 9.
[6] Philostr. I. 14.
[7] *Ibid.* I. 24.
[8] *Ibid.* II. 8.
[9] Philostr. *Jun.* VIII.
[10] Philostr. I. 17.
[11] Paus. X. xv. 6.

or resting on the knees of Nemea[1]. The mountain-god Olympos is represented as the chief figure in a beautiful picture described by Philostratos[2], while in another, described by the same author, he is represented as being delighted at the theft of Hermes[3]. All these instances bear witness to the general anthropomorphic turn of the Greek mind which carried its humanity into the things of nature. And it is this turn of mind which was so favourable to the development of their art.

These personifications are often grouped together. So the river-god Titaresios is represented as lying upon the Peneios because his water was considered lighter[4]. The river-god Oropos, forming the boundary between Attica and Boeotia, is accompanied by sea-goddesses[5].

Both sea and land are often personified in a general or more special character by single figures or by groups of figures. On vases representing the battle between gods and giants the upper sphere of the gods is separated by a line from the lower sphere of the giants. The upper sphere is more definitely indicated by the personifications of the stars, the lower, where the giants are, by Gaia[6]. On many vases, in contradistinction to heavenly spheres, the earthly spheres are represented by Okeanos and Gaia[7]: Glaukos Pontios is personified in a picture described by Philostratos[8] while at the beginning and the end of his description he names 'Orpheus with the Argonauts, Pontos, and the charming Thalassa,' so that the latter appears to have been here personified. Most interesting is the same author's description of the picture of the harbour Palaimon[9]: "the isthmus is represented as a divine being (ἐν εἴδει δαίμονος), leaning with her back against the land (τῇ γῇ), nature placed her between the Ægean and Adriatic like a bridge. On her

[1] Athen. XXII. 534 D.

[2] I. 21.

[3] I. 26.

[4] Philostr. II. 16.

[5] γράφει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν νεανίαν ἐν γλαυκοῖς γυναίοις τὰ δ' ἐστὶ θάλαττα. Phil. I. 26.

[6] Jahn, *Annali*, 1869, p. 186 seq.; Stephani, *Comptes Rendus*, II. p. 39.

[7] Cf. Beger, *Thes. Brandb.* III. p. 439; Bartoli, II. 9; Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.* pp. 86, 169, and *Bericht, d. k. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1849, p. 158.

[8] II. 15.

[9] II. 16. Several of the quoted instances have been quoted before me by Brunn, *l.c.*

right is a young boy, I believe Lechaion. To the left a young girl, probably Kenchreai. These seas, fair and gay, are seated beside the land which forms the isthmus[1]."

Pausanias makes definite mention of single statues of Thalassa. So at Corinth[2] he tells us "that in a temple of no great dimensions are bronze Tritons, and in the pronaos two statues of Poseidon, one of Amphitrite, and also one of Thalassa." In a later temple (Herodes Atticus) there is Thalassa holding the infant Aphrodite on high. Finally, in the same book he tells us that "there are here also statues of Galene and Thalassa."

But the most instructive and really important data for our purpose are the extant monuments containing personifications of nature. Of the numerous monuments of this class it is only necessary to quote a few that bear more directly upon the subject, and will most strongly support the statement, already well founded, that the personification of nature and localities, by means of human figures, was a common practice in Greek sculpture.

Such are an altar[3] of late work, containing the head of Selene in draped bust surmounting a crescent. This crescent rests upon the colossal head of the bearded Okeanos. This class of representation is most frequent in ancient art, for as Froehner says, "the moon disappearing in the waves of the ocean was one of the favourite subjects in ancient art." It is worthy of remark that the hair of Okeanos is ornamented with claws of crabs (χελαί). These claws or sea-animals served as distinctive attributes to the maritime personifications of nature, and are generally placed in the hands of reclining male or female figures; they thus take the place of the simple attributes of the Olympian gods (sceptre, lyre, thyrsus, &c.) which contributed so much to clearness in imparting to the spectator the individual nature of each work of Greek sculpture.

A small bronze relief of good Greek work in the British

[1] θάλατται δ' αὗται καλαὶ καὶ ἱκανῶς εὔδιοι τῇ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀποφαινούσῃ γῇ παρακάθηνται.

[2] II. 1.

[3] Froehner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée Nat. du Louvre*, Paris, 1878, No. 429, p. 399; Jahn, *Leipziger Berichte*, 1868, p. 203; Clarac, *Cat.* No. 214, *Musée*, Pl. 170, 74, 75; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.*, t. II. pl. 17, 190.

Museum[1], noticed by Brunn, represents an aged man who, snake-like, encircles several female figures, of which two half-draped are reclining in an attitude very similar to our two figures in the eastern pediment. These are supposed to be Nereus with the Nereides. It may also represent Okeanos, who encompasses the various terrestrial elements[2].

Another late Roman relief[3] represents Helios in his chariot, Thalassa, a half-nude reclining figure with a vase, and an old man with a veil spread over his head in a semicircle, a type of the personification of heaven, Ouranos. Four Olympian gods, among whom Athene, Zeus, and Hera are distinguishable, are also figured.

A diptych from Sens[4] represents Selene in a chariot drawn by oxen; above her are small figures, probably constellations, and below her Thalassa reclining, with sea-plants and animals in her hands.

But of the greatest interest in its bearing upon our interpretation of the figures in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon is a relief representing the fall of Phaethon, formerly in the Borghese collection and now in the Louvre[5]. The relief has been restored in many places; but, as far as it can be seen from below (its position being high in the wall), the chief parts are untouched. The whole of the slab seems divided into two sections corresponding to two separate scenes of the one drama[6]. The greater part of the relief is taken up by the immediate fall of Phaethon: the rash youth with chariot and horses is hurled from above through the air, with winds and constellations

[1] *Cat. of Bronzes*, p. 38, No. 14.

[2] See *Il.* XIV. 200; XVIII. 607; Hes. *Theog.* 242.

[3] Millin, *Gal. Myth.* E. 80, Pl. XXV.

[4] Millin, *G. M.* 121, Pl. XXXIV.

[5] Froehner. *ibid.* No. 425, p. 389, seq.; Millin, E. 83, Pl. XXVII; Bouillon, T. 2, Pl. XVII; Clarac, *Cat.* No. 732—766, *Mus.* Pl. 210, 42; Wieseler, *Phaethon*, p. 29, seq. Pl. 1, Goettingen, 1857.

[6] The representation of two successive stages of a story on the two halves of the same slab of relief was not at all uncommon with this class of works. So on some of the sepulchral reliefs representing the story of Endymion, referred to below, Artemis is on the one side descending from a chariot and advancing towards her lover, while on the other half of the same slab she is retiring on her chariot. The various stages of the fate of Prometheus are represented in the same way on some of these slabs.

above; while to the left the locality where Phaethon is falling is indicated by the river-god Eridanus reclining on the ground with an urn out of which water is streaming. And at the left corner, leaning against trees, are his hapless sisters, the Heliades, lamenting his fate. The other half of the relief shows Zeus and Hera advancing towards two reclining female figures, the one with an oar, the other with a cornucopia and infants clinging about her (Kourotrophos), in whom without any doubt are to be seen Thalassa and Gaia. As in the myth Phaethon is thrown from his chariot by the thunderbolt of Zeus, yielding to the supplication of the earth, disturbed and burning through the revolution in the course of the sun, so here Zeus announces to earth and sea that the disturbance in the great course of nature is over. To the right, above these figures, is a half reclining youth, who indicates the locality from whence the gods came, namely the mountain-god Olympos. That he it is who is represented in this manner has been admitted by every archaeologist who has noticed this monument, but it is really not confirmed finally until we run through the whole of this class of relief-representations and compare it with similar figures.

We thus find that in the greatest number of this class of relief-representations there are small figures, placed above the larger figures that make up the scene, in a typical attitude and with attributes that show them to be personifications of the locality. They are either male (if mountain or river-gods) or female (if nymphs

FIG. 6. Personifications on Mountains on ancient Reliefs.

of fountains or streams). The accompanying cuts (Fig. 6) taken from reliefs quoted further on, are specimens of mountain gods

placed above the figures composing the main scene and indicating the locality in which the action took place. If compared, it will be found that, though they vary, they point to some one archetype of a nude youth reclining with one leg drawn up, the other more extended, and it will further become evident that this archetype is to be found in the nude youth of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (Plate VI. and Fig. 5).

We are brought still nearer to this archetype from which this class of figures is copied in the mountain god here rendered (Fig. 7) from the mural painting of the Esquiline (Woermann, *Die Antiken Odyssee-Landschaften vom Esquilinischen Hügel zu Rom*, Pl. I, p. 5.). This picture represents the arrival of Odysseus in the country of the Laistrigons according to Homer (*Od.*

FIG. 7. Mountain from Mural Painting.

X. 80—132). There are the ships, the harbour, the mountain at the foot of which the followers of Odysseus (with their names inscribed) have landed and are received by the daughter of Antiphates. There is a male personification of the shore, with the inscription Ακται, and a reclining nymph at a well, with the inscription Κρηνη, and above on the mountain is their mountain god. It can hardly be doubted that the painter of this picture had as a model the figure from the Parthenon which had probably become the traditional type for such figures in all subsequent periods. There is not only the most striking correspondence in type and attitude (especially when we bear in mind the difference of rendering and dimension); but even an accessory, such as the skin upon which the youth is seated recurs in both. It will be seen how this confirms Brunn's

interpretation of the figure in question, and how it further goes to show that the reclining female figure corresponding to it on the other side of the eastern pediment must also be a personification of nature[1].

A careful examination of the composition of a large number of mythological scenes on ancient reliefs will not only go to support the interpretation which I propose to give to the extant figures of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, but will in itself manifest how, ever since the introduction by Pheidias of personifications of nature as a framework to the central action of a pedimental composition, Greek art, down to the latest Roman period, clung to, developed, and modified this typical representation of mythological scenes in sculpture. To put the matter briefly: this typical form in which an individual mythical action was placed, consisted of Helios and Selene on either side, accompanied by personifications of nature, whether general and elemental, or definite and local.

It is true that most of these representations belong to the late Greek, Hellenistic, or Roman period. But their evidence is none the less weighty and important if we but bear in mind the following facts: first, that comparatively very few works of this description dating from the best period of Greek sculpture have come down to us. Among these few works we at least know with certainty that all the great compositions of this

[1] I cannot here enter further into the question of such personifications, especially those occurring repeatedly on ancient mural paintings. I must refer the reader chiefly to Helbig's *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig, 1873). Nor can I dwell upon personifications of nature and localities in statues and on coins, such as the statue of Antiochia with the Orontes at her feet by Eutychides, or the coins with the Corinthian isthmus, Lechaion and Kenchreae, Mount Argalos, the river Ister, &c. I should like, however, to draw special attention to the Arcadian coin with a nude male figure seated on a mountain (Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. VIII.), and to call for a comparison between this coin and the mountain gods figured above, as well as the 'Olympus' of the eastern pediment. The mountain is inscribed with the letters ΟΛΥ, which were formerly considered to stand for Olympos but are now by many considered to be the artist's name. I believe that the comparison of these figures with the types of mountain gods would call for a reconsideration of the meaning of the inscription. An exhaustive work on the personifications of nature in Greek art is still wanting. It would no doubt show that the consideration of them has been neglected in the attempts at interpreting ancient monuments, that many a figure formerly considered to be a god or hero is in reality such a personification.

description attributed to Pheidias did contain some personifications of nature. So the Helios and Selene from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon; the river-gods from the western pediment. Through Pausanias we know[1] that the representation of the birth of Aphrodite on the base of the statue of the Olympian Zeus also contained Helios and Selene. Helios and, most probably, Selene were also present in the pedimental group of the temple at Delphi described by Pausanias[2]. Finally, in, the recently discovered pediment by Paionios of the temple of Zeus at Olympia the scene was bounded on either angle by the reclining river-gods Kladeos and Alpheios.

In the best period of Greek art reliefs were only used for two definite purposes, either for architectural decoration or for small sepulchral slabs and the embellishment of public inscriptions and votive offerings. On none of these could a compact composition of some mythological scene corresponding to the typical form of pedimental composition find its place. For the architectural reliefs were either friezes running round the whole of the temple or metopes. The friezes were too long to admit of one definite scene or action, and thus generally represented pageants, processions, and battles. The metopes on the other hand, though separate slabs, still being organic parts of one great structure, manifested this constructive continuity, in that each formed part of one great representation, such as a Kentauromachia or a Gigantomachia. If this was not the case the space was too limited for the complete representation of a scene, and herein they correspond to the other class of reliefs in the best period, the sepulchral slabs and the decorations of public and votive inscriptions. Yet even here we have instances of direct personifications of localities, and these instances are the more interesting inasmuch as through the inscriptions (mentioning the names of historical archons) we can fix their date to the best period of Greek art. So on the inscription containing the account of the treasurers of Athene under the archonship of Glaukippos (410 B.C.), now in the Louvre[3], on a similar inscription under the archonship of Laches (400 B.C.)[4], on another during the

[1] v. ii. 3.
[2] x. 19, 3.
[3] See Essay IX.
[4] See Essay IX.

archonship of Euthykles (398 B.C.)[1], we have the city of Athens represented by a bearded male figure, the Attic Demos, administering an oath to the goddess Athene. Another relief surmounting an inscription[2] can be dated to 375 B.C.; the inscription records an alliance between Athens and Corcyra, and the relief represents Athene witnessing the agreement made between a female figure, Corcyra, and a seated male figure, the Attic Demos. Another similar relief[3] from the year 362 B.C. surmounts an inscription recording an alliance between Athens on the one side, the Arcadians, Eleans, Achaeans, and Phliasians on the other. Zeus is here the witness; before him appear Athene and another female figure in whom Koehler sees the personification of the Peloponnesus.

These instances will suffice to show that even in the best period of Greek art definite personifications of nature and localities were common. But for personifications and compositions such as we are dealing with, we must not look to early Greek reliefs. From technical and constructive reasons we shall only expect to find them in pedimental groups. Early Greek temples with extant pediments however are very few in number; we shall therefore have to direct our attention to Roman pedimental composition.

Here, however, from purely constructive reasons, another group of monuments comes into existence, which from its material outer form[4] requires decoration similar to the pedimental compositions, and thus furnishes a strong reflective light through which we can distinguish much of the dim contours of

[1] Foucart, *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.* 1878, p. 37 seq. Pl. 10.

[2] *Corp. Inscr. Att.* II. 49[b]; A. Dumont, *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.* 1878, p. 560, Pl. 11.

[3] *Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Inst. in Athen*, I. p. 187; *Corp. Inscr. Att.* II. 57[b]; Ἀθήναιον, V. p. 101; *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell. ibid.*

[4] The value of a systematic consideration of the outer constructive form and immediate destination of objects, edifices, and their parts that are to be decorated with forms of the graphic or plastic arts, for purposes of the study of the artistic qualities, and even the spirit of these decorative compositions, cannot be overestimated. The light that is thrown upon the development of painting and sculpture in general and special departments, such as mural painting and relief, can be replaced by no amount of reading of ancient authors and study of texts. It is part of the same comparative study of style which I hold to be the main support of the study of ancient art.

the partly or wholly destroyed Greek pediments. This is the Roman sarcophagus.

The sides of a Roman sarcophagus present an oblong longer than any metope or sepulchral slab, and not so indefinitely continued as the frieze of an edifice. If decorated it demands something more than one or two figures separate or in interaction, and is yet too limited and defined to admit of a long sequence of interdependent groups with a final unity and summing-up in a most important and central frieze, such as the front of a temple. It therefore demands some complete scene or action which admits of the introduction of surrounding figures—in short, a scene such as those represented in the pediments of temples. The available space on the slab of a sarcophagus corresponds to the elongated space of a pediment. It is true the one has the great advantage of being triangular, thus naturally intensifying as it rises towards the centre, while the other is rectangular. No doubt the scenes on sarcophagi are inferior in composition to those in the pediments. But that there was this primary similarity is evidenced by the fact that one of the above-mentioned compositions of Pheidias which corresponded in its formal distribution to those of the pediments was on the footstool of the Olympian Zeus, which was decidedly not triangular in shape, but would exactly correspond to the rectangular outline of the side of the sarcophagus. This it is that makes the Roman sarcophagi so important for the light they throw upon pedimental compositions. It has been shown by Raoul-Rochette[1], O. Jahn[2], and others, how the compositions on several sarcophagi are borrowed immediately from the pedimental group on the Temple of the Capitoline gods, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.

Here we must furthermore draw attention to a second point which must be borne in mind in considering the weight of the evidence afforded by these Græco-Roman monuments in support of the interpretation of the pediment of the Parthenon. For it has been recognised by Raoul-Rochette, Jahn, Petersen and others, that the pediment of the temple of the Capitoline gods was dependent upon the eastern pediment of the Parthenon for

[1] *Monum. inedit.* p. 393 seq.
[2] *Arch. Beitr.* Exc. II. p. 79 seq.

its general composition, at least with regard to that arrangement of figures which places the chief gods in the centre and frames the whole group by Helios and Selene at either angle. This appears to have been an invention of Pheidias, which was repeated and copied by all later artists who had to represent similar groupings.

What has here been said will suffice to show the value of these late Roman works, in which, in many cases, the figures are definitely recognisable through their extant attributes, in at least throwing light upon the general interpretation of the similar early Greek composition, however degenerate and full of mannerism the late Roman works may be with regard to the artistic conception and execution of these figures. I shall thus point out for comparison a number of works in which occur (*a*) Helios and Selene, (*b*) in addition to these, personifications of localities, and (*c*) in addition to these again, personifications of Thalassa and Gaia.

(*a*) Helios and Selene[1].

On all the representations of the above-mentioned Capitoline gods. Some of these are fragmentary and therefore merely present the one side, containing either Helios (Sol) or Selene (Luna).

In representations of the story of Prometheus[2], they are generally placed on either side above the main figures.

In numerous representations containing the story of Artemis and Endymion[3]. This shows how definite the conception of the personification of Nature is in the artist's mind. It is not the personal goddess Artemis who appears in the centre of the scene, but the pure personification of Nature's Moon[4].

In the story of Mithras, in which he is sacrificing the bull in a grotto, while, above this scene, Helios is ascending on the left and Selene is descending on the right[5].

[1] See Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.* Exc. II. p. 79.

[2] Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Pl. LXI.; Piranesi, *De Romanorum Magnificentia et Architectura*, p. 198; Millin, *Galerie Myth.* Pl. 93, No. 383; *Mus. Cap.* Pl. 25.

[3] Gerhard, *A. B.* Pl. XXXVI. XXXVIII; *Galleria Giustiniani*, II. 110; Braun, *Ant. Marmorwerke*, I. 8, &c.

[4] See above, p. 165.

[5] Müller-Wieseler, I. Pl. 72, 406; Froehner, *Notice de la sculpt. ant. du Louvre*, p. 490, &c.

(*b*) Helios and Selene together with personifications of localities.

Among the numerous reliefs which contain personifications of localities but do not, from the nature of the subject represented, include Helios and Selene, I would above all draw attention to a relief in the Vatican[1] representing the labours of Herakles. This appears to me particularly instructive, because it gives such local personifications in a series of instances, male and female, corresponding both in attitude and type to the types which we have before recognised to be such personifications. They are generally half-reclining figures, smaller in dimensions than the chief acting figure or figures the site of whose action they serve to indicate, and are generally placed above them on the upper part of the relief, or in some cases at either extremity. The first scene represented is the capture of the Oenoean stag, and above this is represented a female figure, most probably the nymph of the stream Ladon. The second is the shooting of the Stymphalian birds; and above Herakles is a bearded figure with a branch, probably the river Erasinus. The next is the conflict with the Erymanthian boar, and above is a youthful male figure with a branch, most probably the mountain-god Erymanthos. The next is Herakles washing his hands, after the cleansing of the Augean stables, at a cascade, the nymph of which is seated above. On the other slab but two of the feats are illustrated by local personifications: the one, the struggle with the Nemean lion and the personification of Nemea; the other, the Cretan bull, with the personification of Argolis.

Among the reliefs[2] representing the story of Artemis and

[1] Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clementino*, Vol. IV. Pl. 40, 41.

[2] Such reliefs with personifications of nature are Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* Pl. CLXX. No. 236; also Pl. CLXV. No. 437. There is also a mountain-god probably as shepherd, Pl. CLXX. No. 38. In Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* Pl. 37, a mountain-god is represented as a bearded figure with branch. On this relief three successive stages of the story and three aspects of Artemis are represented. At first where the mountain-god is seated she is visiting Endymion as Artemis. To the left she is again represented as leaving the earth in her chariot (half the personality Artemis and half the personification of nature's Moon), and on the top of the relief which represents the celestial sphere she is seated on a crab (purely an astronomical personification). On Pl. 39 of the same work, a late and poor work, the mountain-god is accompanied by a nymph. Butari, *Mus. Capitolino*, Pl. 29, contains a mountain-god of the Herakles type. Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clementino*, IV. Pl. 16, has a nymph, a mountain-god, and other figures.

Endymion, some have not an additional representation of Selene and Helios, but contain personifications of the locality, generally in the form of the mountain-god Latmos, and in a few instances the nymph of the locality. These mountain-gods (see one of them reproduced, fig. 6) are in a few isolated cases bearded men, but most frequently are a distinct type of youth, nude, or partly draped, generally holding a branch in one hand, in a half-reclining position, with the right leg drawn up higher than the left. The similarity of these figures leads us to conclude that they form one type, and if we but bear in mind the modifications which such a type will undergo through the difference of age of the Roman as contrasted with the Greek influence, of a small private slab of a sarcophagus by an inferior craftsman as compared with a pedimental statue by Pheidias, we can but be struck with the resemblance of the broader representations of type between these figures and the reclining male figure from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. He occurs also in the story of Prometheus[1]; also in the story of Aktaion[2].

On most of the above-quoted scenes containing Helios and Selene we also have the youthful mountain-god. They also occur in paintings[3].

(*c*) Helios and Selene, together with personifications of locality, and Thalassa and Gaia.

The greatest number of the above-quoted reliefs, if the story and scene represented have in any way not merely a local but a cosmical significance and association, also contain, in addition to Helios, Selene, and the mountain-god, the personifications of the Earth and the Sea, or both together. In the representation of the Endymion-myth, as Jahn has pointed out[4], the horses of the retiring or advancing Selene rise over a reclining female figure, generally holding a cornucopia or fruit in her lap, Gaia (for it is on earth that the scene takes place). In fewer instances the same figure with a sea animal, Thalassa, is represented. And finally also a male figure with a shell or urn, Okeanos.

[1] Clarac, Pl. 215, No. 29; in Pl. 216, No. 31, there is also a nymph.

[2] Clarac, Pl. 115.

[3] Philostratos, *l.c.*; Pompeian paintings, Zahn, II. 30, 43; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. der alten Kunst*, II. 17, 183.

[4] *Arch. Beitr.* p. 60.

Both Sea and Land personified on the same relief occur on the above-quoted representation of the fall of Phaethon, and on two of the reliefs representing the myth of Prometheus. In these cases, the myth is of a wider significance than the story of Endymion, for it concerns gods and men, the celestial and terrestrial spheres. On the relief given by Gerhard[1] we have on the extreme left Cerberus with his guardian, indicating the lower regions; above him Selene in a chariot drawn by oxen rises out of the realms of darkness over a reclining female figure on a sea-monster, Thalassa. On the right is the reclining Gaia with a cornucopia, and over her Helios in his chariot drawn by horses. Hephaistos is applying hammer and tongs to the reclining earth, and in the centre is the main scene in the presence of the gods. In the Capitoline relief[2] Vulcan and his assistants are represented as forging chains under the earth, while the mountain-god is peering over from the top, and above on either side Helios advancing towards Gaia and Selene towards Okeanos, who is represented with an oar and as seated on a sea-monster.

As has been stated by Visconti[3] a distinctly cosmical character is given to the Capitoline gods in the pedimental groups representing them. These three Capitoline gods, the rulers of the world, were, even in the very earliest times, worshipped jointly on the *Capitolium Vetus*, and in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol three niches were dedicated to them. They are represented on numerous reliefs, vases and coins, with a certain correspondence throughout them, so that we must infer that these representations go back to some well-known prototype. This prototype is shown to be the pediment of the (Capitoline) Temple, which pediment is clearly indicated on the fragmentary relief published by Piranesi[4] and on another by Righetti[5]. Further-

[1] A. B. Pl. 61. [2] *Mus. Cap.* IV. Pl. 25.

[3] *Mus. Pio-Clement.* IV. p. 154. Toutes les divinités représentées sur ce bas-relief rare, ont entre elles deux rapports différens d'analogie, chacun desquels a pu servir de motif à l'artiste pour les rassembler toutes dans le même tableau. Le premier motif est que ce sont toutes des divinités protectrices de l'empire romain, le second que ce sont aussi toutes des divinités *cosmiques*, ou qui se rapportent au système de l'univers. Ces deux analogies pourraient être placées dans les temples où cette sculpture paraît avoir été faite.

[4] *De Romanorum Magnificentia et Architectura*, p. 198; and Müller, *Denkm. d. alten Kunst*, Pl. 2, 13. *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, I. 168.

more on coins published by Ryckius[1] representing the Capitoline Temple itself. In all these works, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva are represented in the centre of the pediment, and several have the distinct personifications of nature surrounding them. In the relief published by Piranesi and Müller the gods being in the centre are surrounded on either side by Helios and Selene (or rather Sol and Luna), and these are followed by reclining figures in either angle, evidently, from analogies to be considered later, the two great personifications of terrestrial nature. There are also figures above the cornice. On smaller representations, such as coins, the whole scene is very much curtailed, the main features of the pediment being recorded. So on the reverse of a bronze coin[2] struck under Antoninus Pius, we have a circular rim containing the signs of the zodiac, and in the centre Jupiter enthroned, and below his feet on the right Gaia, and on the left a figure which may be male or female on a sea-monster, with what appears a sickle in one hand, either Pontos or Thalassa. Above these and to the right and left of Zeus are Helios and Selene in chariots. The same coin is figured by Mionnet[3]. A medallion relief in the Villa Albani[4] at Rome, which appears to have been restored after the coin, differs from the coin in that Okeanos with an oar is here on the right and Gaia with a cornucopia is on the left. An analogous representation still more curtailed is on a coin from Pergamon[5]. Here Helios and Selene are cut down to the busts of these figures, the one with a crown, the other with a half-moon, while below on the left is Thalassa with an oar leaning on an urn from which water is streaming, and on the right Gaia with a branch.

The above-quoted relief in the Vatican is fragmentary and merely contains the centre, together with the left wing of what was represented in the pediment[6]. The centre contains the three gods, accompanied by Fortuna (who in Roman mythology seems to take the place of Nike in the Greek as a symbol of the success and power of the gods). At the angle, Helios preceded by one of the

[1] *De Capitol.* Ch. XIII., also *Monum. inedit. d. Instit.* II. 33, 34.
[2] Müller *l. c.* II. Pl. 76, No. 26. [3] *Descript. de Medailles &c.* Suppl. V. p. 78.
[4] Hirt. *Bilderbuch*, Pl. 2, No. 3. [5] Morelli, *Specimen Rei Num.* I. 3.
[6] We can hardly err in assuming that the other wing contained Selene and Gaia.

Dioskouroi is advancing with his chariot over a half-draped reclining female figure leaning on an urn from which water is streaming, in whom Thalassa has been recognised by all. Next to her is a male figure half rising out of the ground with drapery flowing like an arch above his head. I agree with Visconti, who sees in this figure the personification of heaven, the Roman Coelus, and that this is a higher region is indicated by the attitude of Minerva, the figure placed next, who is looking down into the lower regions. Just as on the one side of the Parthenon pediment the figure of the reclining Olympos, towards whom the sun is ascending, indicates the regions of the gods, so here Coelus introduces us into the sphere of the three principal Roman divinities. However great the variations of the theme, it is manifest that in these Roman compositions we have a faint echo of the principle of pedimental composition introduced by Pheidias in his decoration of the Parthenon, and so the light which is thrown by these Roman works upon the general significance of the figures in the Parthenon pediment is none the less important, however inferior in artistic qualities they may be.

We started our examination of this class of monuments merely for the purpose of discovering whether personifications of nature in ancient art were sufficiently common to justify us in adhering to the interpretation of two of the figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon as Gaia and Thalassa, the interpretation having been founded upon a study of the indications in the works and the composition themselves. The result has been that we find not only that these personifications are most common, but also that the typical form of the composition of a mythological subject which, like the birth of Athene, has any cosmical significance, is that the central scene should be closed by Helios and Selene at either end, followed by personifications with earth and sea in reclining figures; and, if the scene be localised more definitely, this is done by a reclining mountain-god or nymph or by a figure like Coelus.

Let us now again attempt to complete the interpretation of the eastern pediment. As in the Homeric Hymn, the birth of Athene is conceived not only in a purely mythological but also in a cosmical signification, so that it affects not only the personal gods, who wrapped in wonder are the immediate spectators, but

also the whole of the universe, the celestial spheres, the earth and the sea; so in this plastic expression of the same event, we shall expect to find besides the witnessing gods the personifications of nature, whose presence is undoubtedly warranted by the extant figures of Helios and Selene.

The whole composition evidently has its beginning at the left angle of the pediment, and its end at the right. This has been most clearly and forcibly indicated by the sculptor in the arrangement of the figures at either end: Helios turned towards the centre, and ascending at the one angle, and Selene, whose horses are turned away from the centre, descending at the other. This is not the case in the western pediment, which contains a scene not cosmical but definitely local. Here there is no single point of beginning, but both ends, with equal force, drive towards the centre. In the eastern pediment, then, the sculptor has most distinctly indicated that our eye is to begin at the angle containing Helios, and the direction of the movement of the composition is again most clearly given in the action of Helios and the impulse of his horses. It is an upward movement, one of ascent towards the higher regions where the scene takes place and the gods dwell, the summit of Mount Olympos. The first rays of the sun strike the mountain, the horses of the sun-god's chariot rear and start back at the great scene of the birth of the clear-eyed daughter of the sky which takes place on the summit. But the mountain-god is still unaffected by the great event which is just being transmitted to one of the two Horae who watch at the gates of the heavenly abode. Here Iris, the fleet messenger of the gods, has just imparted the news of the birth of Athene; she has come from the centre of action where Hephaistos has just dealt the blow, and the virgin-goddess, fully armed, swinging her spear, stands before her father, the king of the gods, and the assembled deities, and all are wrapped in wonderment. Hera and Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis, Aphrodite and Ares, Dionysos and Hermes, all are there. We have reached the highest point, the centre of action, the abode of the gods, and we now descend (as is indicated by the movement of the figure which bounds this side of the composition, Selene) to the lower cosmical spheres. Not only to the wonderment of gods is Athene born, but also to the welfare of mankind, the whole of the

terrestrial sphere, earth and sea. So a messenger of the gods (probably Hermes) brings the news to this terrestrial sphere, to Hestia the personification of the human hearth, the first of the seated female figures, and then to the Earth and the Sea reclining within her lap. And far at the end where the last lines of this composition die away like the finale of a great symphony, Selene turns back to give one more look over the sea and land to the heights where the beautiful scene has taken place, and by the sea her horses descend into the lower realms of night.

We have more than once drawn attention to the fact that the scene in the eastern pediment is cosmical in import and character, as the western pediment contains a local myth; and so we must also expect cosmical personifications in the one, as we have local personifications in the other. It is interesting to note how in the above-quoted relief, representing the fall of Phaethon, the whole slab is divided into two compositions, the one representing the local aspect of the myth, as the other conveys the broader physical significance. So we have in the one composition the personification of the river Eridanus, while in the other half Zeus and Hera have descended from Olympos, personified by a youth, and are advancing towards the earth and the sea, personified by two reclining female figures. In the same way, guided by the clear indications of the treatment of the figures in the eastern pediment, by the description of the birth of Athene in the Homeric Hymn, and by the customary representation of this class of subjects in ancient literature and art (so far as it has been preserved) which corresponds to the distribution, succession, and typical representation of the figures in the pediment, we are led to see in this work, besides Helios and Selene, in the extant figures in the angles Olympos, Gaia, and Thalassa.

The grandeur of the surroundings in which Pheidias has placed the central scene of this great event in the history of the universe, is unrivalled for the depth and width of the conceptions coupled with the clearness and simplicity of expression. There are Time and Space, the celestial and the terrestrial sphere, gods with mankind, and all put into recognisable, tangible form, no less grand and monumental than they are graceful and harmonious. The whole scene is bounded by the ascending sun and the descending moon, fixing the time and indicating the

limits of the universe, and the infinite course and duration of nature[1].

If to some it may appear that we attribute to Pheidias thoughts and works too philosophical, we would but record the fact that all great and deep thought, whether in common life, in art, or in science, may be termed philosophical, simply because it is great and far-seeing: and that all great men either have great thoughts, live great thoughts, act great thoughts, or create them. In so far they might all be called philosophers. And we might furthermore call attention to the fact that Pheidias lived in a community and in an age which was not chiefly characterised by partition of labour and specialisation, so that the artist, no less than the statesman Pericles, was the friend and pupil of a philosopher like Anaxagoras, and studied and was conversant with the higher pursuits of philosophy and literature. And still further we must remember that the time in which Pheidias lived was one open to the introduction of new ideas into the religious no less than the political life of the people, so that his highest conceptions of things divine and human were spontaneously introduced into his religious works. But here is the chief distinctive feature of Pheidias as a Greek and as a sculptor. His thoughts as a Greek, and still more as a sculptor, immediately took plastic shape and form, and were not mere theoretical "philosophical" speculations. He lived and felt with his inner and outer eye as much as with his intellect. Whosoever has stood on the Acropolis and has seen the sea resting in the embrace of the gulf, clinging to the land which clasps it round in its embrace, and has seen the moon rise over the water, can vaguely feel how in the imagination of a Pheidias, standing on the same spot, the scene of the birth of Athene took shape, sun and moon, and the earth and sea, and all they tell us, grew into the harmonious forms of visible and tangible human figures. For to such a mind thought and sight, form and matter, become one in the harmony of art.

Much harm has been done to good and useful suggestions in that they have been overstated. Whoever brings forward a new theory or establishes a new fact becomes so enamoured of the new aspect disclosed before his eyes, that he

[1] See Essay II. pp. 75, 76.

is apt to overstate its importance and its claims to complete acceptance. The result is that others are stimulated to opposition by the element of excess in the overstatement, and, on their side again, are carried away by opposition, to the destruction of any moderate or modified acknowledgment. Thus artificial antitheses and parties are formed with purely negative impulses and aims to the detriment of truth. What is extreme in the statement as well as in the denial becomes stereotyped, and the normal progress towards the recognition of truth is suppressed until the violence of opposing forces is spent, and time has so far erased the harshness of the extreme view as to allow the main questions to become again visible in their true importance and usefulness.

In offering this new interpretation of the two figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, I have no desire to bring about a similar state of discussion.

Though personally I feel that this is the most probable of interpretations, I am not blind to the fact that, as matters now stand, we cannot hope to solve the question conclusively and for all time. We can merely hope to find that interpretation which, from the nature of other extant monuments and the general spirit of Greek art in the time of Pheidias, is most in keeping with that spirit and with the limited amount of undoubted data which we possess concerning that individual composition.

While writing this essay, I have not held before myself the probability that all authorities will or must straightway relinquish all previous notions and accept my explanation. But I have felt strongly that, at all events, this view is one which, at least, has much in its favour, that it is one without which the list of possible interpretations is incomplete, and, above all, that it will explain many of the peculiarities in the artist's work itself, both in composition and in detail of execution, which would otherwise be unexplained. And I hold firmly that, of all things to be considered by the interpreting archaeologist, the recognisable indications of the artist's work by means of his peculiar language, is of primary importance.

I believe, therefore, that of the many interpretations offered, this is one worthy of consideration and one which, in scientific duty, required to be published when recognised by the archaeologist.

ESSAY VI.

THE ATHENE FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE AND THE LOUVRE PLAQUE.

Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερηφάνων μὲν μεγέθει μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημιουργῶν ἁμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος.

While these works were rising, immense in size and inimitable in form and grace, the workmen striving emulously that the workmanship should be preeminent in artistic finish, nothing was more wonderful than the speed with which they were brought forth.

PLUTARCH, *Life of Pericles*, XIII.

ESSAY VI.

THE ATHENE FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE AND THE LOUVRE PLAQUE.

THE Parthenon Frieze formed a continuous band of sculpture in low relief which ran round the outer wall of the *cella* with its two smaller halls in front and back, the *pronaos* and the *tamieion*. Like every peripteric temple the rectangular temple proper, with its halls closed in by walls on all sides, was surrounded by a colonnade which supported the roof and projected over the walls of the actual temple. The distance from the walls to the columns (exclusive of these) varies from 2·96 to 3·57m. (9·7 to 11·7 ft.). This space was paved with white marble and afforded shady walks to the visitors to the Acropolis. The plain wall is bounded above by a slightly projecting band (*ταινία*) under which are small blocks, called by Vitruvius *regulae*, which in the Doric order to which the temple belongs would lead us to expect above them the *triglyphon*, a frieze subdivided by metopes (*μετοπαί*, *metopae*) and triglyphs (*τρίγλυφοι*)[1]. Instead of this *triglyphon* however we here have a continuous frieze (*ζωφόρος*, *διάζωμα*), which ran round the four sides of this outer wall like a belt, or rather like a band uniting its two ends on the forehead of a victor. It was 11·9 m. (39ft.) above the pavement of the colonnade, and

[1] See Essay III. p. 88.

above it a painted ornamentation after the manner of a cornice completed the decorations of the wall, which was joined above to the entablature of the outer colonnade by a ceiling just as below the marble pavement joined the base of the columns with the wall. The length of the frieze was 159·42m. (522·8 ft.), of which 21·18m. (69·5ft.) covered each of the narrower walls of the front and back, while 58·53m. (191·9 ft.) decorated each longer side of the rectangular building[1]. It consists of numerous slabs carefully joined together, almost exactly 1 m. (3 ft. 3·95 in. according to Stuart) in height.

FIG. 8. Corner of the Parthenon. *b*, metopes; *c*, frieze.

The subject represented on this frieze is generally acknowledged to be the procession on the occasion of the Panathenaic Festival. The ancient festival of the Panathenaia[2], which was supposed to have been founded by Erichthonios in mythical times, when he also dedicated the carved wooden image of Athene Polias, and is said to have been renewed, receiving a political significance, by Theseus, was celebrated once every year during the last ten days of the month Hekatombaion (ending with the birthday of Athene, the 28th day of the month, about the 12th of August). It was in honour of Athene Polias, and along with the sacrifice it consisted of gymnic and hippic games, and the dedication of a *peplos* or cloak, in which maidens bearing offerings and men carrying olive-branches are mentioned as giving solemnity to the ceremony. Peisistratos gave greater splendour to this festival in making numerous additions to the ceremonies once in every four years, the third year of every Olympiad, and thus created the distinction between the lesser, or yearly,

[1] See Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*.

[2] Since Meursius's *Panathenaea* (Leiden, 1619) an extensive literature has accumulated on the literary and artistic records concerning this ancient festival. It is beyond the purpose of this essay to enter into the numerous details of this wide question. The reader will be best directed by Michaelis for further study.

and the greater Panathenaia or *Penteteris* (Πεντετηρίς). These festivals in many ways served the Athenians as a division of time similar to the use that was made of the periodical recurrence of the Olympian festivals by the whole of Greece, and thus in Athens the term of public office was often determined from one of the Panathenaia to the other. The Peisistratidae increased the splendour which had been given to this festival by their father in adding to the gymnic and hippic games a literary contest in which the Homeric poems which had been collected under Peisistratos were recited by rhapsodists. Finally Pericles gave still greater splendour to the festivities in adding further literary contests.

The celebration of the greater Panathenaia differed from that of the lesser ones, chiefly in that all the ceremonies were carried out on a more brilliant scale, and so for instance, while in the yearly festival the old *peplos* was merely restored and re-dedicated to the goddess, on the greater festival she received a new *peplos*, saffron or purple in colour, with an embroidered border representing scenes from the battle between the gods and giants, the work of maidens chosen for this purpose from the Athenian nobility as a great mark of distinction. The festival lasted for several days, during which religious sacrifices and the various games were performed, the hippic games with the horse races being nearest the last day, the literary on the first. On the eve of the last day (ἑορτή) there was a great nocturnal feast (παννυχίς), with torch-races, dances, and songs. The climax of the whole feast was the procession which started at sunrise on the last day, the birthday of Athene, from the outer Kerameikos, passed through the Dipylon, the Dromos, and the chief street of the inner Kerameikos, to the market-place, then to the Eleusinion, to the north-east corner of the Acropolis, to the west, and through the Propylaia to the Temple of Athene Polias, upon whose altar the hecatombs offered by Athens and its dependent states were sacrificed, and a great festive meal concluded the whole festivity. No doubt the dedication of the *peplos* formed an important part of the ceremony, yet there is no evidence to show that it was carried in the procession before the beginning of the 4th century[1]. At this

[1] See Michaelis, *ibid.* pp. 212 and 329, No. 165.

period there is no doubt that it was placed like a sail on the mast of a ship which was rolled through the street on wheels, very much as is the custom now at Palermo during the procession of Rosalia. This custom, in keeping with the maritime character of the Athenian people, contained a reference to Athene as the inventor of the sail and the protectress of ship-building; a regatta at the Piraeus also formed a part of the celebrations during the festival. At that time the *peplos* had to be taken from the ship before reaching the steep ascent of the Acropolis, and was carried to the temple by the chosen maidens.

Almost all archaeologists are agreed that the frieze of the Parthenon is a representation of this procession. The objections which individual archaeologists, such as Bötticher[1], Christian Petersen[2], and August Mommsen[3], put forth against this assumption appear comparatively without weight and have not met with any further support. They are all grounded upon one line of argument, namely, on the deviation from the rendering of the procession in sculptured relief from the detailed description of the elements of the procession in the classical authors. The great artistic merit of the composition of the frieze, in which life and variety take the place of the monotonous rank and file of a solemn procession, and the graceful proportion of the heads in their relation to the body is maintained instead of a monotonous series of top-heavy figures, with their heads covered with wreaths,—this very artistic merit is made the chief antiquarian[4] reason for doubting about the proper archaeological interpretation. But these arguments have not as yet been of sufficient strength to alter the opinion held by most modern authorities that the frieze does represent a procession, and moreover the procession of the Panathenaic festival.

[1] Erbkam's *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 1852, 1853; *Arch. Anz.* 1854, p. 426 seq., 1858, p. 175 seq., 1859, p. 66 seq. &c. It would lead us too far from the immediate aims of this Essay to enter more closely into the discussions of this point. The reader must be referred to Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 206 seq., and to Eug. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, &c., for a further statement of the discussion and for reference with regard to further reading.

[2] *Arch. Zeit.* XIII. p. 19 seq.; *Zeitschr. für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1857, pp. 193 seq., 308 seq., 385 seq.; *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1859, p. 89 seq.

[3] *Heortologie*, p. 116 seq.

[4] See Essay I. p. 26.

Within the freedom and variety that marks this composition there is still a certain symmetry and order in the distribution of the various parts of the procession over the four walls of the temple as they are decorated by the relief. While the front and back contain the beginning and end, the longer sides represent the actually moving parts of the procession. The western frieze shows us the start and the preparations for it. It is that face of the temple which the visitor first meets when entering the plateau of the Acropolis through the Propylaia. At the north-west angle is the single figure of a herald, who, through his attitude and action, joins the west side of the frieze with the continuation along the north side. Along the whole of the western frieze towards the south, are seen groups of horsemen, many of them already mounted, others in the act of mounting, another forcing the bit into the mouth of his restive horse, another drawing on his boots, another again trying to hold back a rearing horse, and so on. All are characteristic scenes which, without an attempt on the part of the sculptor to encroach upon dramatic art, still give action to what would otherwise be a monotonous disconnected sequence of figures. At the south-west angle there is again a single figure who, looking to the right, yet moving with his uplifted mantled arm to the left, again forms a link between the action of the western and the southern frieze.

Starting then from the west, the north and south friezes begin with the famous procession of riders.

The first figures of the northern frieze are still in the act of preparing for the start: a boy-servant is tying the girdle of his master at the back, over which the *chiton* will be pulled in projecting folds, his horse is beside him, a rider in front of him is not yet mounted. But in front of these figures all the horsemen are mounted and are in full procession. The endless variety of action in the horses and of attitudes in the riders is subdued by a certain order which we can discover in the arrangement of the various groups: they are represented in lines of three and four abreast by means of the overlapping in part of one horse over another in the relief. Preceding the horsemen are the four-horsed chariots (ἅρματα τέθριππα, *quadrigae*) accompanied by a marshal who keeps them in order, and besides the charioteer, by

the *apobates*, a warrior in full armour, whose function of mounting and dismounting from the chariot during the fight is here indicated in that he is generally behind the chariot or in the act of mounting. The charioteers are preceded by a group of elderly men, in the long *himation*, advancing in a dignified and reposeful manner; they correspond to the *Thallophoroi*, according to ancient authors elderly citizens who carried olive branches in the Panathenaic procession. These are preceded by kitharists and flute-players. The musicians are preceded by men carrying vases (*hydriai* or *amphoreis*) which may be the *Spondophoroi* of the procession, while they again are preceded by men carrying trays (*σκάφη*) with cakes as offerings to the goddess. The *Metoikoi* whose duty it was to carry these trays in the procession were called *Skaphephoroi;* they are preceded by a marshal, and he by the offerings of three sheep and four cows, either quietly led by the attendants or checked in their violent progress. As the Athenian Colonies contributed each a cow and two sheep to the festival, it is most likely that on the northern frieze the *Theoroi* sent by the Colonies are indicated.

The scenes on the southern frieze, though they are far from being an actual repetition of what is represented on the northern frieze, correspond in the main distribution of groups to the one which we have just enumerated, only here, while there is a much larger offering of cattle, there are no musicians. As there are no sheep here, but only cows (oxen were offered to male gods and cows to goddesses), it has been concluded that this is a representation of the hecatomb offered by Athens itself, which consisted solely of cows. There is also a greater number of attendants accompanying this offering. The offerings bring the northern and southern friezes to an end at the east, and we now turn the corner from both sides to the eastern frieze, which runs along the front wall of the temple and is the culminating point of the procession as it is of the composition of the whole relief.

The procession is here represented as arriving on the Acropolis, collecting (according to a truly Greek idea) in the presence of the assembled gods and goddesses. From the northern and southern angle of this eastern frieze, preceding the offerings that end the northern and southern frieze, are maidens solemnly advancing and carrying sacrificial vessels.

The two foremost have just handed over to a magistrate the dish (*κανοῦν*) in which the corn, the fillets, and the knife used in the sacrifice were carried. Hence they were called *Kanephoroi*. In front of the maidens on either side are groups of the chief Athenian magistrates standing together and conversing, evidently awaiting the arrival of the whole procession, upon which the sacrifice will begin. Thus the representation of the procession itself ends; the magistrates on either side frame and define that which is the central portion of the frieze and of the whole composition, the assembly of the gods (fig. 9).

The line of gods and goddesses (fig. 9 A, 9 C) is interrupted and broken into two halves by an independent group of five standing figures (fig. 9 B) placed by Pheidias in the actual centre. This last will be more closely examined, and the cause of this interruption of the continuous assembly of the gods accounted for, in the next essay. The gods, taller and more stately than the human figures of the frieze, are seated to the right and left of the central group of four figures, seven on either side. Authorities have differed with regard to the interpretation of the gods[1]. Of all the interpretations that of Dr Flasch[2], the latest authority, appears to me to have most in its favour.

The first figure to our left, No. 1, a bearded man seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by Sphinxes, the upper part of the body nude while the lower is covered by the *himation*, is considered by the latest authorities and by twenty-six out of the writers on the frieze to be Zeus. The figure at his side, No. 2, turning towards him and raising her veil, is again almost universally conceived to be Hera. In the winged female figure, No. 3, standing beside Hera, Flasch sees Iris, while other authorities see in her Nike or Hebe. A youthful figure, No. 4, full of strength and grace, negligently nursing his knee, is held by Flasch, E. Petersen, Brunn and others to be Ares, while other authorities, among them Michaelis and Conze (in accordance with their interpretation of No. 5 as Demeter), consider him to be Triptolemos. Flasch considers Nos. 5 and 6, who from their position

[1] See Michaelis, p. 262 seq., and the excellent short guide to the sculptures of the Parthenon published by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, by C. T. Newton.

[2] *Zum Parthenonfries*, *Würzburg*, 1877.

A.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

B

FIG. 9. From the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon.

A. The gods on the left (or south) side of the central group.
B. The central group.
C. The gods on the right (or north) side of the central group.

are evidently closely related, to be the sister and brother, Artemis with her torch and Apollo; others, as we have seen, see in No. 5 Demeter. No. 6, according to Flasch Apollo, is Dionysos according to Michaelis and Petersen, while most of the earlier authorities see a closer relation between figures 6 and 7, and thus consider them to be the Dioskouroi, Castor and Pollux. No. 7, a figure with boots, short *chlamys*, and traveller's hat (*petasos*), is held by all later authorities to be Hermes.

In the three figures to the right of the central group, Nos. 8, 9, 10, nearly all the latest authorities are agreed in seeing Athene, Hephaistos and Poseidon. The most prominent place, corresponding to that of Zeus on the other side, is appropriately given to Athene, in whose honour the festival was held, and, as in the Attic tradition she is closely associated with Hephaistos whose worship was often combined with that of Athene, as in the Erechtheion and at the feasts of the Chalkeai, he is represented as sitting beside her, leaning upon his staff as an indication of his lameness. The type of the bearded head of No. 10 is the well-known one of Poseidon, whose position, according to Attic tradition, is appropriately after Athene and Hephaistos. No. 11, the well-preserved figure turning the upper part of his body towards Poseidon, so that he appears to us three quarters turned towards us, is characterised by a certain softness in the surface of the nude and in the fulness of the face, which lead Flasch as well as Conze to see in him Dionysos, while the later authorities, who consider No. 6 to be Dionysos, see in him Apollo. So too the latest authorities who saw Demeter in No. 5 consider No. 12 to be Peitho, associated with No. 13, Aphrodite, while Flasch makes No. 13 Demeter, who would appropriately be seated beside Dionysos. All the later authorities agree in seeing in 13 and 14 Aphrodite and her son Eros. The conception of Aphrodite is here the earlier and nobler one, and she is represented as fully draped, pointing out to her winged boy the procession as it advances towards them.

According to Flasch's interpretation we have then: on the left, Zeus followed by Hera, with Iris, Ares, Demeter, Apollo and Hermes; on the right, Athene followed by Hephaistos, Poseidon, Dionysos, Demeter, Aphrodite and Eros.

So much for the subject represented. Let us now turn to an

examination of the manner in which this subject is translated into relief and first consider the technical character of the work, and then the more artistic or spiritual qualities of this great composition.

Throughout all the works of Pheidiac art which have come down to us we notice that, however lofty their spiritual qualities, however great and ideal their artistic conceptions, they manifest to the student one simple and almost humble (yet none the less important) element which is essential to their great effect, namely, the due and sober regard which the sculptor paid to the physical, almost mechanical, conditions which surrounded each individual work. With all his loftiness and ideality, this great artist never lost his firm footing on the actual ground of his work, never expected that all the surroundings should be fashioned in keeping with his own great ideas, never neglected such seemingly paltry considerations as the limits of the space that was to be filled by his composition, the material to be used, the conditions of light in the position of the work, and the possible point from which the spectator would view it. As we learn from a careful study of this frieze, Pheidias seems to have asked himself, first, how can I make my figures visible and distinctly visible? secondly, how can I relate the story I wish to represent in marble so that it may be clearly understood and may maintain its unity, though carried along the four walls of this temple? And, when he had solved these questions by dint of sober thought and hard work, he set free from its fetters his lofty imagination, and conceived a great composition which he had the power to execute and make real.

The main technical points which we notice in the frieze are the exceeding lowness of the relief, the peculiar working of the edges of the outlines, and the increasing height of relief towards the top. All these idiosyncrasies of the relief-work must be referred to the peculiar way in which this frieze received its light, and to the conditions under which the spectator could gain sight of it. As has been stated before, the frieze ran along the outer wall of the *cella* at a height of 39 feet, and this wall was joined by a ceiling to the entablature surmounting the colonnade which ran round the temple and supported the roof (see fig. 8). The frieze

could thus receive no light from above; and, moreover, the entablature surmounting the columns descended 1½ metres (4·75 ft.) lower than the level of the frieze, so that the light could not come directly from the front. It therefore received only a diffused light from the front, between the columns, and a stronger one reflected upwards from the white pavement of the colonnade. The spectator, moreover, could not gain sight of the frieze if he stood outside the temple much beyond the columns; he had therefore to stand either between them or within the colonnade itself. The distance between the wall and the inner circumference of the columns (it is about 4½ metres including the columns) was, as we have seen, 2·96 to 3·57 metres (9·7 to 11·7 ft.); so that the spectator, to have any view at all of the frieze nearly forty feet above him, would have to stand very close to the wall and nearly under the relief itself.

The first result of these conditions is that Pheidias had to execute his work in very low relief. For, in the first place, if he had worked his figures in bold and high relief, the spectator necessarily standing so close under it, the lower edges of the relief, the feet of men and horses, the tire of the wheels, would not only have been the most noticeable features and have presented ugly lines, but would have hidden from view a great part of the composition above.

A positive evidence in the work itself, that Pheidias duly considered the special position of the spectator, to whom the lower side of the projections were most visible, is to be found in the fact that while, as we shall see, the other edges of the relief are straight cut and not modelled, the lower surfaces of the edges that can be seen from below, such as the bellies of the horses, are more carefully modelled and more highly finished than any other surfaces in the whole frieze. In the second place, the light being received from the front upwards between the columns, and reflected from immediately below, a strong relief, especially in the lower parts, would have thrown shadows upwards, and would thus have made the upper parts less visible, or entirely hidden them from view.

We thus have presented to us the master-piece of technical skill: layers of figures one upon another, sometimes two or three horses and riders, in a relief rising from the background but

$4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres (1·75 inches), and in the highest parts, namely, the heads of horses and men, $5\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres (2·25 inches). Our wonder at the technical skill must grow still greater when we consider that the several layers of figures put into this exceedingly low relief were worked with such definiteness that the outline of each figure, forming a part of a great mass, such as the procession of horsemen, became distinctly visible to the spectator at a distance of over 39 feet in spite of the imperfect light and the unfavourable point of view.

The second result of the peculiar physical conditions of the Parthenon frieze is the method of dealing with the outlines of the figures, and the edges of the outlines. As the relief was kept so very low and the light was so imperfect, the outline, in order to be visible, had to be clearly cut and set off from the ground in an abrupt manner[1]. In a low relief, which is placed on the eye-line before us, we avoid a harsh perpendicular edge which interrupts the flow of rounded lines, and we allow the relief as far as possible to run gradually over into the ground. In the Parthenon frieze, on the contrary, the edges of the outlines, with the exception of those that are seen from below, are cut straight and sharp to the background, often at a height of 3 and even of $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres perpendicular to the ground, and sometimes even slightly undercut, the edge slanting inwards. In some instances, especially where there are several layers of figures projecting over one another, they are made more visible in that the layers are not parallel to one another, but the one layer has a more slanting plane. Another device is that of cutting a groove near the edge and thus heightening the relief away from it. This is especially noticeable at the feet of the horsemen. Finally, a more projecting relief is obtained in the upper and most distant parts of the relief, especially in the heads of men and horses, by somewhat sinking the ground of the relief as it nears the outline of the head.

Thirdly, we notice that the variations in the height of the relief are only to be found in the upper part of the frieze which reaches the extreme height of $5\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres, while the lower parts uniformly remain within the limits of $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres.

[1] See Michaelis, p. 204.

This treatment is due, in the first place, to the fact, that while, from the peculiar lighting, high relief in the lower parts might have thrown disturbing shadows over the upper part of the relief, there was no fear of such a disturbance in the upper part, and the artist was free to make this more strongly projecting. Secondly, it is due to considerations which we know Pheidias to have studied[1], as we have noticed in his treatment of the pedimental figures. It is because of the fore-shortening which is the result of the spectator's point of viewing the composition. These considerations on the part of the artist are manifested in the way the lower portions of the bodies, for instance of the seated gods, are proportionately shorter than the upper parts, because, to the spectator viewing them in their original position, the lower parts would appear larger. The lower parts also appear more projecting and the upper parts more receding when viewed immediately from below[2].

To avoid this effect and thus to keep the figures in drawing, the upper parts of the frieze had to be projected more strongly than the lower parts. Only then would they appear to the spectator from below as being of the same height in relief. From the point in which it was seen in its original position, the variation in the height of the relief produced the same appearance that a relief of equal height throughout presents to the spectator, when placed on the eye-line.

Besides the conditions which demanded the consideration of Pheidias for the actual technical working of the relief, there were further conditions of space the consideration of which had to be introduced into the arrangement of the scene represented on the frieze. It was not merely a continuous band which had to be decorated with sculptured figures, but it was a band running round the four walls of the temple. These four walls differ from one another, the front and back being the same, yet differing greatly in length from the two long sides which are again the same. It was therefore naturally suggested by the construction, first, that the chief bulk and mass of the procession should be represented on the long continuous lines of the sides;

[1] See Essay II. p. 79 and Footnote.

[2] See Note D at the end of this Essay.

and, furthermore that a certain symmetry and harmony of composition, some accordance between the two representations, should obtain between the two sides of the frieze that correspond to the two equal parts of the edifice. This symmetry of composition should not consist in the monotony of actual copied reproduction, but within the freedom required by decorative sculpture it should still add to the harmonious effect of the architectural structure which it was destined to adorn[1]. This greatest possible symmetry of composition, however, would only apply to the friezes decorating the two long sides of the temple; for they are not only identical in dimensions and parallel in their course, but they are of equal importance and perform the same function in the whole edifice. Not so the two shorter sides. Though they run parallel, and though they are of the same dimensions, they differ completely in importance and constructive function, the one being the back, the least important, the other the front, the most important, part of the temple. Thus while the main bulk of the procession itself is represented with rhythmical symmetry on the two long sides, the eastern and western friezes, though manifesting a certain symmetry in completing the procession of the two other friezes by the beginning and end of the ceremony (just as these two walls limit and join together the long walls), still differ from one another. At the back (the west end) is represented the least important part of the ceremony, the preparation; while the front (the east end) contains the culminating point of the whole procession, the arrival on the Acropolis in the presence of the assembled gods. Dramatic unity is thus given to the story as related on the four walls of the temple by means of the greater importance which the architectural construction assigns to the east front. Instead of a mechanical unvarying movement round the four walls, as if they were equally important, without growth of interest, the east front became the chief side toward which all the others were to lead, upon which the climax of the action was to be represented. The action will begin at the back, will proceed along either long side, and, like the band of a victor, the two ends meet and the dramatic knot is tied at the brow of the temple, the east front.

[1] See Essay II. p. 77 and p. 80.

Furthermore the west end of the temple faced the Propylaia and was the first to be approached by the visitor. It was thus again naturally suggested to the artist, that the beginning of the scene depicted on the frieze should be placed on that part of the temple which was first seen by the visitor.

Finally, though the four walls of the temple demanded a systematic distribution of the subject along the parts of the frieze, the great task remained, to maintain and impress upon the spectator the unity of the scene thus distributed over the four walls. This impression was achieved by the treatment of the corners or angles of the frieze. Pheidias did this in making the figures at the angles links which bound the frieze of the one side with that of the other. Thus, at the northern and southern angle of the western frieze, as well as at the angles of the other friezes, he places single figures of heralds or magistrates, who, by their expectant attitude or forward action, point to a continuous connexion with the figures round the angle. He does this also by taking up the theme or subject of the one frieze and carrying it over into the beginning of the next, just as in music a theme is sometimes taken over from the one movement into the beginning of the next. So for instance, as has already been stated, the northern frieze, which contains the procession in full motion, begins at the western end with a slab containing a youth standing beside his horse, whose boy-servant is tying his girdle at the back, over which he will pull his *chiton* in graceful projecting folds, and then mount his horse. The figure in front of him has also not yet mounted his horse, but after this all the riders are mounted and are galloping forward. This scene at the western beginning of this frieze is still a part of the scene of preparation represented on the western frieze. But these characteristics, based upon the purely technical tasks which Pheidias set himself, lead us to the consideration of the more artistic and spiritual qualities of this great composition.

We have already (in the second Essay) pointed to the spirit of Pheidiac art as it manifests itself in the frieze. It is to be noticed chiefly in the variety within the harmony, the rhythm within the symmetry, the movement and life within the rest and monumentality of the composition taken as a whole or sub-

divided into the four friezes, or into smaller groups of figures, or finally into the single figures.

The composition of the frieze is such a complete unity that most visitors to the British Museum who gaze upon these remains will carry away with them a vivid general impression of a splendid procession full of life, to the extinction of any of the details of the composition. This is chiefly due to the artistic quality of harmony in composition, by which all the parts are made subservient to the central idea and conception, and a certain similarity of "tone" is cast over all the parts of the work. The riders and their horses are so like, each to his neighbour, that the spectator hardly sees any difference between them, and easily passes before them without being arrested by any abrupt sensational feature (such as the modern French artist would delight in), the whole conveying to his mind the impression of a living procession of cavalry. This is exactly what Pheidias intended to express. If the spectator had stopped at every single horse and rider with an exclamation of wonder, he would never have received the impression of a continuous procession of cavalry. This similarity of tone, or rather this harmony of composition, is very far from being sameness. If the visitor's attention is drawn to it, he will see that no two horses, no two men, are really alike. If the figures were really the same, the general effect would not be at all that of a procession. Assyrian and Egyptian reliefs are instructive in showing us what effect such sameness produces. On the contrary, I would venture to say, that no other work of sculpture containing even ten horses and riders will manifest such variety in action and pose as is to be found in this most varied composition. Though the whole frieze has such unity of composition, we have still seen how it is naturally subdivided into its four friezes.

But each of the four friezes is a complete composition in itself and could be appreciated singly even if the adjoining ones were completely destroyed. Each of them has one subject which it illustrates clearly and simply: the western frieze, with its two single figures as borders at either end, tells most clearly its story of a preparation and start, the northern and southern of a procession; while the eastern frieze, with the maidens

advancing from either side towards the group of magistrates who are assembled before the seated expectant gods, is one of the most harmonious and complete compositions in relief which the history of art has to show. Yet, while it would not occur to the general spectator, who would be right in allowing himself to be impressed by these complete compositions without analysis, it is nevertheless a fact that each of these friezes naturally falls into smaller groups.

The effect of the continuous life as manifested by the whole frieze is chiefly due to Pheidias's treatment of these smaller groups, complete in themselves, but closely linked to one another, each having in itself elements of onward movement that suggest an advance towards some increasing interest and drive the eye forward toward the culminating centre, the eastern frieze, where the scene ends. Each of these smaller groups has a completeness and roundness of composition in itself, and still each is naturally and organically joined on to the other. Take for instance the riders of the northern and southern friezes: they form a compact whole with a beginning and end; and still they are as naturally joined on to the scene of preparation at the western angles as they naturally carry the eye on to the chariots in front of them. And within these there are smaller subdivisions of horsemen similar in their completeness to the whole, as they equally suggest a continuity of movement in their connexion with one another. Take further the two groups of magistrates on either side of the eastern frieze, they again form a complete composition of dignified elderly men in varied poses; and yet at either side one is advancing towards the procession of maidens, receiving from them the sacrificial implements or beckoning to them to take their proper position. Take finally, the assembly of gods, grouped symmetrically, yet rhythmically, on either side of the central slab. Full of life and variety in attitude and type, there is still an active relation maintained among them, and, in keeping with the different world to which they belong, they are completely defined and hedged off from the human figures on either side who see them not. And still they are not lifted completely out of relation with the surrounding scene: they are spectators of the festivity in their honour and are affected by it. Yet this is manifested in a mode peculiar

to Pheidias, it is done with a varying degree of rhythm and interest which gives life to each scene and idea by means of a certain composition of figures which suggests organic growth. In this case he conveys this impression in varying the degree of manifest interest of each figure in accordance with its proximity to or remoteness from the scene of which the gods are represented as being the spectators. It is interesting to note that the divinities who are thus brought into closer proximity to the human members of the procession, and are manifestly affected by the scene, are the gods, in one sense, lowest in the scale of divinity, nearest to the terrestrial sphere and most closely connected with human life: Hermes on the one side, Aphrodite and Eros on the other. As we progress from either end towards the centre, the gods increase in dignity, or at least in the importance of relation which they hold to the festivity, which is the subject of the whole composition of the frieze. The manifest interest[1] of each god grows towards the surrounding scene, the further we proceed away from the centre towards either side of the frieze; while the weight and importance of the gods themselves grow the more we approach the centre. All this points to what we might call dynamic, in contradistinction to geometrical, composition, a characteristic of the composition of Pheidias which we have already had occasion to notice in the pedimental groups of the Parthenon[2]. Instances of the introduction of this element, which gives actual life with the suggestion of an underlying force in contradistinction to a tame and mechanical progression, can be noticed throughout the whole of the frieze. It consists in the indication of a certain reactive current which apparently checks the onward movement, but really adds to the impression of impetus on the part of the forward current. So, for instance, in front of the horses, the riders, and the chariots, and interspersed between the groups of advancing men and maidens, heralds are placed who check the horses, or urge on the stragglers, or arrange the ranks. This interruption of standing single figures among the groups of

[1] This is traceable even in the chief line of the figure as expressed by the attitude. See Essay I. p. 13, footnote 3.

[2] See Essays IV. p. 117, and V. pp. 159 seq.

advancing men and horses really adds to the continuity of movement among the groups, as it gives life and flow to the composition as a whole. The more we study this work the more do we see how every single figure has its function in the whole artistic organism, and adds to the general effect of the whole work. In fact the secret of the great total effect will be disclosed to us if we but examine the frieze, as it were, microscopically, and study the substance and composition of each single figure.

If we thus study the single figures whose harmonious composition forms the Parthenon frieze, we shall have manifested to us the realisation of the laws governing decorative sculpture as we have endeavoured to enumerate them in Essays I. and II.[1] Each figure, as we have just seen, has its function within the whole composition, as the whole frieze adds to the decorative effect of the architectural structure. We could not conceive of any one figure that might be more appropriately replaced by some other figure in another attitude. It was just that figure that was wanted in that place and it was just that place which suited that figure, and their relation cannot be disturbed without impairing the harmony of the whole work. And still this effect has been produced without any sacrifice of life and nature in the representation of each figure, as is often the case in later work, where life is subordinated to decorative effect to such an extent that the convention becomes fully established and a new "decorative" life fixes its position in the artistic world. Each figure is composed and modelled with truth to nature. Above all we must be struck by the fact that the continuity of life and action which is suggested by the attitudes of the figures in their manifest relation to one another, is not attained at the cost of the plastic qualities of each single figure, to the detriment of its monumentality. In this frieze a sculptor might find hundreds of *motives* for great single statues.

To none does this apply more than to the gods of the eastern frieze. Though, as we have seen, they form such a complete unity among themselves and, as a whole, they are so organically joined to the rest of the composition, forming an

[1] Essay I. p. 32; II. p. 77.

integral part of the whole scene as represented, they are each of them so self-contained in their construction, so full of inner rest and lasting harmony, that we need but translate them into the round and increase their dimensions to make of each a great monumental statue. To none of these again does this apply more than to the figure of Athene.

Athene (Plate X. and Fig. 9, No. 8) is seated erect on the stool which has neither back nor arms, the right leg drawn back, the left sandalled foot placed forward. Though the attitude is simple, bordering on severity, yet her pose is so free and natural and without constraint, that we do not for a moment receive the impression which is given by the seated figures of inferior artists, that they were placed in that position by the artist and did not naturally seat themselves. Rivet-holes in the marble on the side of the chair under the right hand, at the side of the right wrist and on the right arm, make it probable that there was a bronze spear which she listlessly held in her hand[1]. It may be that the *aegis* was on her lap, and that the two snakes which seem to be indicated on her left wrist belong to this. Besides spear and *aegis* there are no indications of her sterner and more warlike character. She has no helmet, nor does she wear the mantle or *peplos*. The homely, kindly, humane and maidenly character of the virgin goddess is brought out in this figure. She is clad in the sleeveless *chiton*, the under garment, over which the *himation* or *peplos* of thicker material was placed when women showed themselves in public. Athene is here in peaceful community with her own people. The *chiton* is fastened as usual above the shoulders by a brooch, leaving the arms, shoulder, and neck quite bare, and, opening out at the side, displays a triangular portion of the uncovered surface under the right arm. The thinner material of this undergarment manifests itself, just as it does in the pedimental figures, by its pliability, clinging to the figure and suggesting to the eye the forms which it covers, the rise and fall of which it obediently follows. This transparency and thinness of folds are not carried to the extent in which they appear in one figure of the eastern pediment[2], and which were produced with preference, and often

[1] Michaelis, *ibid.* pp. 31, 257; Conze, *Philologen-Vers. zu Hannover*, p. 186.

[2] See Essay V. p. 158.

without meaning, by artists of the later periods. Though the figure is in very low relief the fold-grooves (*pteryges*) show the characteristic depth of the work of Pheidias, and at the same time they have the marked features which we do not meet with in earlier work, of varying in depth and width during the whole course of each groove. This gives to drapery that play of light and shade, that movement in variety which infuses the inorganic stone with the semblance of the life of nature. At the same time there is that degree of regularity in the disposition of the folds which restricts this variety and movement to the form and harmony which are most pleasing to the eye and suggest monumentality and rest.

Athene with helmet, fully or partly armed, was represented by Pheidias in the statues of Athene Promachos and Athene Parthenos. Equally famed in antiquity was his bronze statue of Athene without helmet (*ἵνα ἀντὶ κράνους ὑπὸ τούτου τῆς θεοῦ τὸ κάλλος πρόπτοιτο*[1]) which the Lemnians dedicated on the Acropolis, whence she was surnamed the Lemnian[2]. She was especially famed for her maidenly grace and pure beauty. As has already been suggested by Overbeck[3], it is highly probable that in the Athene from the Parthenon frieze we have the traces of this type of Athene unarmed.

All the high praise which has ever been given to the Athene from the Parthenon frieze has been based upon the figure only, the modelling of the drapery and of the nude, the pose and composition of the work. It has always been a matter of deep regret to archaeologists and lovers of art that the head of Athene has been so completely mutilated that we can barely guess at the outline, and can discover no traces of the actual features.

When, in January 1881, I was examining the numerous terra-cotta fragments in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris with a view to investigation based upon the comparative method of the study of style as put forth in the first Essay, and, in justice to

[1] Overb. *SQ.* 761 (*Himer. Orat.* 21, 4, p. 736, ed. Wernsd.).
[2] See Essay II. p. 69.
[3] *Geschichte der Griech. Plastik*, Vol. I. p. 256.

this method I must add, without the faintest thought of the art of Pheidias in my mind, I came upon a fragment of a terra-cotta plaque (Pl. IX.) which fascinated my attention. The fragment is 19 centimetres ($7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in height, 14 centimetres ($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in width, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in thickness: the colour of the terra-cotta is a faded reddish brown. The relief-work of Pheidias was most evident, and the whole corresponded so completely to the figures of the Parthenon frieze that I could not help expressing on the instant my conviction that it was a fragment of a replica of one of the gods from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon. A hasty sketch made on the spot, when subsequently compared with the original frieze in the British Museum, confirmed my belief that the Paris terra-cotta was a representation of the Athene from the Parthenon frieze. And when finally the Directors of the Louvre Museum, among whom M. Léon Heuzey tendered me most generous assistance, kindly sent me a plaster cast taken from the terra-cotta in the Louvre, there could be no further doubt as to the absolute identity of the two figures.

When once I had the cast, taken from the original terra-cotta at Paris, I was in the position to make a careful comparison between the plaque and the marble relief in the British Museum, which resulted in establishing the identity of the two reliefs, not only in the general outline and the larger folds of the drapery, but also in the minute details of modelling and even in the peculiar working of the low relief with regard to the edges and their relation to the ground of the relief.

I have placed the two plates (Plates IX. and X), the one of the Louvre plaque, the other (greatly reduced) of the marble slab in the British Museum, side by side, to enable the reader to make the comparison for himself. Yet I would remind him that two points render a careful comparison of the works by means of these plates somewhat difficult. In the first place he must bear in mind that while the engraving of the plaque is not far removed in size from the original terra-cotta, that of the slab from the frieze greatly reduces the original size (almost exactly 3 ft. 4 in. in height), and that thus the details of the figure in the frieze appear much more compressed. In the second place, while the plaque could be placed immediately opposite the photographer's

lens, the position of the frieze on the wall of the British Museum necessitated a different point of view from that held with regard to the plaque.

The peculiar working of the edges of the relief in the Parthenon frieze to which attention has been drawn is maintained throughout in the terra-cotta, nay, it even acts disturbingly when we view it closely. The edge of the arm is worked straight down to the back-ground perpendicular to it, sometimes even slanting inwards. The outline of the face, especially the line of brow and nose, has the same straight cut edge. The head is highest in relief, and therefore the hair has suffered most from friction, being most prominent. So close is the resemblance of workmanship to that of the Parthenon frieze, that as there, so here, the stronger relief of the head is attained in adding to the actual greater height by sinking the ground around this upper part. The *chiton* is fastened in the same way above the shoulder, the brooch being more distinct in the plaque than in the frieze where it is more rubbed away. From this point the chief folds of the drapery radiate, two running above the right breast under the upper seam of the garment, which projects in a similar manner above the left breast in both instances. From the shoulder, running between the right breast and the opening at the side, there are five fold-grooves, the upper ones running towards the centre of the figure, where they break up into numerous transverse folds, while the lower ones are subdivided by smaller grooves, less defined in the plaque and more clearly cut in the frieze. The triangular opening is identical, as also the manner in which it runs out into a curved fold at the bottom. Below it there is the same cavernous fold, and between it and the arm the drapery is subdivided in both instances by a small groove and a larger one towards the arm, in the plaque the smaller one being visible up towards the arm, while in the frieze it is visible further down. There are no indications of a spear in the terra-cotta, because this could not well be rendered in this material. It has been stated above that a spear of bronze was perhaps attached by rivets to the marble figure, and it will be easily understood that any such free accessory would hardly be represented in so brittle a material as terra-cotta. Beside the cavern-

PLATE IX. TERRA-COTTA PLAQUE, LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS.

PLATE X. ATHENE FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

ous fold just above the breakage, there are three parallel curves in the folds which are quite similar in the drapery of the frieze. Unluckily the terra-cotta is fractured at the lap of the figure and the whole lower portion is wanting[1].

On the other hand the greatest value is given to the plaque in that the head has been perfectly preserved, and that we can now complete in our mind the picture of the Athene from the frieze whose mutilated head so painfully destroyed the effect of the whole figure. And considering the smallness of the scale of the terra-cotta relief we must be amazed at the delicacy and nobility of the modelling of the face and neck. The firmness of the features is still far removed from hardness, the cheek is soft and yet firm and the texture of the hair is well set off against that of the face. The whole has in character a mixture of maidenly purity and graceful nobility. There is no accentuation of the distinctively feminine charms, nay, from one aspect the head is almost boyish in character. And this quality of the head combined with the feminine forms of the body, produces that mixture of attributes which characterised the virgin daughter of Zeus in the less stern conception of the patron goddess of Athens.

So fortunate and complete is this discovery that, with the fatalistic scepticism which is inherent in us, the thorough coincidence in all points will call forth within us a doubt "whether it is not too good to believe," whether this terra-cotta is not a forgery evoked by the importance of the subject represented and the *apparent* facility of completing the fragmentary Athene by restoring the head. The question that will have to be answered before all things then will be: What exactly is the plaque and what uses did it serve?

Now there are three conceivable possibilities. (1) That it is a modern forgery. (2) That it is an ancient copy from the figure in Athens, ordered by some noble Roman of artistic tastes

[1] This has now been found. Since these Essays were in type, the rest of the Athene and the whole of the adjoining figure of Hephaistos have been discovered by Mr A. Hamilton Smith in the *Museo Kircheriano* at Rome. For all details concerning this fragment, and other matters which have come to light since, relating to these small replicas of the Parthenon frieze, I must refer the reader to Note F, which will be found at the end of Essay VII.

probably to decorate his private mansion or villa. (3) That it is a work contemporaneous with the frieze. The last possibility includes one which, from the prospects which it opens before our eyes, we dare hardly entertain, namely, that it is one of the original sketches by Pheidias from which the marble frieze was enlarged and finished.

(1) This first possibility absolutely falls to the ground upon examination. The first question we must ask is: Why should a forger more than twenty years ago (for the plaque must have been in the Louvre since 1861, the date of the Campana sale, and in the possession of Campana some time previously) have gone to the trouble of making an imitation of this work? The second question is: How could he have made it?

The answer to the first question is very simple. It was for purposes of gain. But the terra-cotta fragments do not fetch a very high price at present, and brought but a very trifling one thirty or more years ago[1]. In order to obtain any price whatever for his false antique terra-cotta, it would have to be exceptionally perfect in its supposed preservation, which such a clever artist could easily have made it, in adding the lower part of the figure, the hand, &c. Only then would it have been worth the while of such a skilful artist and expert counterfeiter to devote his time and skill to such a work. But there would be one circumstance in which even a fragment would be of considerable value, and that is, if it were in some way connected with a celebrated work of antiquity. But in order that it might fetch a high price with this consideration, its being thus connected with a figure from the Parthenon would have been the first point which the impostor would have impressed upon the purchaser. And a purchaser and an amateur like Campana would have set great store by such a work, and would have put its connexion with the Athene in the foreground when he sold his collection to the Louvre. But neither Campana nor the present possessors were aware of the nature of the work, as is evident from the fact

[1] I have since seen H. Pennelli, the *ristoratore* at the Louvre Museum. His father had been with Campana for many years, and he himself was in his service as a lad up to the time of the sale. He does not remember the acquisition of this "trifling" fragment; but feels assured that it could not have cost more than 5, 10 or 15 francs. The Louvre Museum bought it among a series of fragments for a moderate sum.

that this fragment is not specially mentioned in the catalogue of Campana, still less published in his *Opere in Plastica*, nor, as M. Heuzey informs me, specially mentioned in the registers of the Louvre; but is classed together with a mass of similar fragments, which were all collected at Rome.

With regard to the question how the artist could have made this forgery, we find that he could not have made it from the original in the British Museum, which was placed there in the summer of 1816. For, in the first place, this could only have been done with the consent and knowledge of the authorities and in the presence of the attendants of the museum. In the second place, it would not have paid an artist capable of restoring the head so perfectly, to model the figure, make a mould, and stamp a relief, then to send it to Italy—where it was to be sold for 5 francs. This might perhaps be worth his while, if the manufacture and retailing of such a forgery were carried out on a large scale and hundreds of plaques of this fragment were dispersed throughout Europe and sold to public and private collectors. He would have to resort to some of the illustrated books, in which moreover the head, which is wanting in the original, is drawn. I have carefully compared with the cast of the terra-cotta the drawings of Parry and of Pars in Laborde's *Parthenon* and with the original drawings in the print room of the British Museum, and have found that all these differ decidedly from the terra-cotta, which is nearer the original in its general aspect and in its details than are these drawings. The earliest publication in the form of a book which had the widest circulation (translated into French and German) and was the basis for the drawings of so many subsequent books relating to the Parthenon, is Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* which bears the date 1787, but only appeared in 1790, after Stuart's death. In vol. 2, plate XXIII., there is a drawing of the slab of the frieze containing the Athene. Here the head is not at all like the head of the plaque, the forehead is higher, the distance from the angle of the eye to the beginning of the hair is greater than in the plaque, and above all there is that strange elevation of hair on the crown of the head which impairs the beauty and, by the way, there being no traces of this in the original, leads me to believe that Stuart's drawing of

the head is a restoration and that therefore the head must have been destroyed in the original as early as the time of Stuart and Revett's sojourn in Athens (from March, 1751, to September, 1754). Then too there are many more details (for instance in the drapery), and these are much closer to the original in the plaque than in the drawing of Stuart. We need but compare for instance the triangular opening on the right side, which ends in a stiff angle in Stuart yet gradually flows out in a slight curve in the plaque. In the piece of drapery between this opening and the right fore-arm Stuart has but an indication of a fold-groove close to the arm, while in the plaque as in the original this portion of drapery is subdivided by three such grooves, one next to the arm, a distinct one further towards the opening, and a slight one at the verge of the opening. It is evident that the plaque could not have been made from Stuart's drawing, still less from the reduced edition by Kinnard, nor from any works dependent upon Stuart, such as for instance, the Italian *Museum Worsleyanum* by E. Q. Visconti, with its sketchy and inexact outline drawing. In fact no published illustration, with the exception of recent photographs, at all approaches so near the original in correctness of the details as does the terra-cotta plaque.

So far the negative and external evidence. Now let us examine the works themselves. Only an artist belonging to the highest order, indeed not even he, could have rendered on such a reduced scale the great correctness and delicacy of modelling, and above all, the simplicity. A modern artist who could imitate the texture of the skin with the power that is displayed in this terra-cotta would have been unable to check himself, would invariably have been carried on to overdo this in introducing more details, and would thus have failed in rendering the simplicity, largeness and monumentality, which is inherent in this work of small dimensions. But furthermore the plaque manifests that handling of low relief which is peculiar to the Parthenon frieze, and was called forth by the exceptional position of the frieze in the temple, and there surely was no reason why a forger should adhere to peculiarities which make the work more difficult, which disturb the eye when the work is examined from close at hand, and are not visible at all unless thus closely examined.

Finally if we examine the claims to antiquity of the terra-cotta relief in itself, no doubt is left as to its genuineness. The breakages of the plaque are of that nature which could hardly have been made by design. They could not have been modelled, *i.e.* made when the clay was soft; and after the clay was baked and hard we can hardly conceive how the forger could have risked destroying his whole work in attempting to fracture it by violence. The way the most projecting parts have been worn off can only be the effect of the gradual friction and wear of time, and this wear of time is especially noticeable in the blunting of the finer lines of the folds and of the modelling of the hair. The scratches and indentations of the plaque could not be made by design and have the genuineness of such corrosion and injury as are displayed only in genuine antiques. Last of all the terra-cotta itself bears all the characteristics of antique ware in tone and quality, so far as I have been able to determine from careful examination. On this point however I need not trust wholly to my own experience, having been fully confirmed by the superior judgment of M. Heuzey, who, in his official capacity at the Louvre, has had many years of experience with ancient terra-cottas both genuine and imitation, and in his *Figurines de terre-cuite au Musée du Louvre* has established his claim to be regarded the highest authority in these matters. M. Heuzey considers it impossible to doubt of the antiquity of the fragment[1].

The first of the three possibilities therefore completely falls to the ground, and we must now turn to the examination of the two which remain, and see what speaks in favour of either of them.

(2) The second possibility, that it is a copy made in Roman times, is one which has much in its favour. Whoever is conversant with Roman history and Roman literature knows how intense was the admiration of this people for Greek culture in all its forms, and how they strove to imitate and assimilate with their own all its manifestations. We furthermore know that it was a common undertaking for a high-bred Roman, and an event

[1] M. Heuzey says in a letter "Il me paraît impossible de douter de l'antiquité du fragment de terre-cuite dont je vous ai envoyé le moulage."

which was almost essential to his complete education, to travel in Greece. Here it was that the Roman patrician's artistic nature was trained by the study of the great art treasures, as, fifty or a hundred years ago, the wealthy inhabitants of Northern Europe completed their education by a visit to Italy. It was only exceptionally, under the influence of war and conquest and with the ensuing public desire to decorate their Capital, that conquerors like Sulla ventured to carry off original works of art. There existed a strong quasi-religious piety which forbade them under ordinary circumstances to desecrate the soil of the country which the Romans considered their original home, by despoiling it of its most sacred treasures of art. And yet the appreciative Roman felt, as we do, a desire to carry home with him reminiscences of the treasures he had seen and to adorn his house and gardens with them. And so there existed in the Roman period, after Greece had lost its inventive artistic genius together with its political independence, a numerous colony of half-mercantile sculptors, who copied, modified, and combined (in the eclectic school, which endeavoured to make new works, new canons of proportion and new styles in combining characteristic qualities of previous masterpieces) works of Greek art to supply the demand of the Roman market. The greatest number of statues in Italian museums are such copies or modifications. To this class of work the Paris plaque would belong if it is a copy. But then there were so many supreme works of pure sculpture from the hands of the great artists, that we cannot well understand why a part of this decorative work which, in comparison with the great works, is not thought worthy of any mention by the ancient authors, should be copied and should be desired by artist or by amateur. Yet this is easily explained: a Roman patrician of cultivated taste is struck by the beauty of the Parthenon frieze. Now it must be borne in mind that the Roman's true taste inclined more to great architectural works of splendour than towards pure sculpture; and that specifically Roman sculpture is essentially decorative in character. He feels a desire to decorate with the same reliefs the small temple in his country home, or still more probably his house or his villa, or a room, or a court in them. Accordingly he orders a reduced copy to be made in terra-cotta, and of this copy the plaque,

probably found in Rome or its neighbourhood, would be a fragment.

Much as this possibility has in its favour, serious objections might still be raised. In the first place the later schools of artists in Rome and even in Greece had distinct styles of their own, markedly differing from the simple grandeur of the Pheidiac age. Now it is contrary to experience that these later characteristics of style should be lost even in copies of earlier works intended to be correct. The later Roman copies that fill our museums, such as those of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos and the Myronian Diskobolos (of which an earlier copy exists for comparison with the later ones in the replica of the Palazzo Massimi at Rome) are most instructive in this respect. We should expect traces of such later work in the plaque if it were such a late copy. But of this there are no traces. The plaque has all the simplicity bordering on severity of the figure in the frieze, nay, it is almost severer and larger in character, while at the same time it is far removed from that stereotyped and exaggerated severity which is given to the copies of early work when the late copyist endeavours to maintain the characteristics of archaic art.

Furthermore, it is physically impossible that a copy so accurate in all its details, including not only the folds, but even the peculiarities of Pheidiac relief-technique, should be made by a copyist standing below while the frieze was in its original position with the imperfect conditions of lighting to which attention has been drawn. To do this the copyist had to be face to face with the original. Now, it is hardly conceivable that, even if it were permitted by the magistrates in charge of the temple, any one would have gone to the trouble and expense of erecting a scaffolding round the wall of the *cella* to the height of thirty-nine feet—the only means of making it possible to reproduce it with such accuracy. There remains the last possibility.

(3) If it was a work contemporaneous with the frieze itself, the reasons just mentioned would speak against its production when once the marble relief was in position; the terra-cotta must then have been made before the relief was fixed to the temple. Now, it is hardly probable that copies of the decorative sculp-

tures of the Parthenon should have been made at the time. I must again remind the reader of the fact that, though to us the sculptures of the Parthenon are of the highest interest and importance as independent works of art that we collect in our museums, they were not so to the Greeks of the time of Pheidias. They were then merely decorations of the great architectural structure; and the works which were chiefly estimated by them as works of art complete in themselves, were the statues by the great artists, which the ancient authors mention, while they passed over the frieze without a remark.

I have mentioned before that we naturally hesitate to face the possibility of this plaque being one of the original sketches by the hand of Pheidias. We cannot help feeling some of the timidity, which will always be felt by conscientious people, who have to report an unexpected stroke of fortune. This timidity increases with the importance of the unexpected discovery and with the consciousness of our increased desires, which, we might fairly presuppose, may direct and modify our belief, with or against our will. But, bearing this in mind, I do not see why we should hide from ourselves the fact that it is by no means impossible that the plaque is the original sketch, and why we should not bring forward as fairly as possible all circumstances which speak in favour of such an assumption. Let us make sure that our desire to possess an original from the hand of Pheidias does not prejudice our observation; but let us equally make sure that our hesitation to state something uncommon, and our fear of laying ourselves open to the ready contradiction and easy incredulity of those who stamp even the admission of such a possibility as extravagant, do not equally hamper us in a just consideration of the work before us.

When we consider the accuracy in the reproduction of the details and, above all, in the working of the relief, especially as regards the edges of the figure, the greater height of the upper parts and the sinking of the ground about the head, all of which, as we have seen, was modified by the peculiar conditions surrounding the frieze of the Parthenon, we must feel that they speak strongly in favour of this view. Furthermore, the terra-cotta, though it marks all the chief lines of the drapery, still does this with a certain definiteness and want of life as compared with

the marble relief, which characterises the "first state" of a work as distinguished from the finished production[1].

When we consider the actual mode in which the great works of art were produced during the few peaceful years of the supremacy of Pericles, a new light is thrown upon the possible destination of the terra-cotta relief of which the plaque is a fragment. Within these few years a number of great compositions, which were before enumerated[2], among which was the colossal Athene Parthenos decorated by many figures in relief and in the round, all of them over life-size, were designed and executed by Pheidias. It is to these works, important temple-statues, that Pheidias, in addition to the design, also added the technical execution or at least gave the finishing touches. According to our modern scale of the working power of an artist, a single work like the Athene Parthenos would call upon the time and energy of a sculptor for a period of several years. Now, besides this, there were all the decorations of the Parthenon with its ninety-two metopes, its hundreds of figures in relief in the frieze, its large pedimental compositions. It is inconceivable that Pheidias should have executed with his own hands all these works, though he may have given the finishing touch to some of the most important parts. Though the designs were made by him, the execution was put into the hands of marble-workers ranking from high-classed artists down to mere artisans. The occasional discrepancies in the actual execution of the marble-work in various parts of the frieze, the pediments and the metopes, is in part to be referred to this fact. This assumption is fully verified by the ancient authorities. So we hear from Plutarch[3], that a great number of artists and artisans skilled in marble-work, metal-beating, wood and ivory-carving, &c. flocked to Athens from all parts of Greece and the colonies, and were added to the large number of native workmen. These workmen were free from taxation and all inducements were offered to the skilled among them. The same writer further

[1] It was an interesting confirmation to me when the sculptor Mr Woolner, upon examining the cast of the Louvre plaque, said that compared with the Athene from the frieze it had all the characteristics of a "first state."

[2] See Essay II. p. 67.

[3] *Vit. Pericl.* XII.

tells us[1], "that these buildings were of immense size and unequalled in form and grace, the workmen striving emulously that the workmanship should excel in artistic finish, and that nothing was more to be wondered at than the rapidity with which they were brought forth."

It has ever been assumed by archaeologists that works like the frieze were sketched in small in their totality by Pheidias himself. Quatremère de Quincy gives the following account of what he supposed the process of their execution to have been:—"I quite believe that a small model of the whole composition, either in clay or in wax, was first made in order to fix the *ensemble*, the details, and the relation of the parts of this composition to each other. But I presume that in accordance with this model an exact copy of the outlines of the actual size of the frieze was taken, of the outlines of each figure and of the forms of each object; and that these outlines were faithfully traced on the unhewn slab of marble in accordance with their succession and position in the model. It is after this tracing and these designs that the sculptor proceeded to work his marble[2]."

Now, it is not likely that if the sculptor had at his disposal means of readily reproducing these designs, he would rely upon one copy only of so extensive a work consisting of so many parts each of which is essential to the whole, especially when we bear in mind the carelessness of workmen and the chances of destroying whatever is fragile within the surroundings of marble-workers. Modern sculptors avoid these difficulties in making moulds of their clay models from which any number

[1] *Ibid.* XIII. See the motto prefixed to this Essay.

[2] "Voici toutefois comme je crois que ce mot doit s'entendre, et comme l'opération me paraît avoir eu lieu. Je ne me refuse point à croire, qu'une esquisse générale aurait été d'abord faite en petit, soit en terre, soit en cire, de façon à bien fixer l'ensemble, les détails et les rapports de cette grande composition; mais je présume que d'après cette esquisse, on aura fait un tracé des contours de chaque figure, des traits de chaque objet, correctement arrêtés, et dans la grandeur même de la frise; que ces contours auront été fidèlement calqués sur chaque dalle de marbre et selon l'ordre de l'esquisse. Ce sera sur ce calque, et d'après ces dessins, que le sculpteur aura travaillé son marbre." *Lettres écrites de Londres à Rome et adressées à M. Canova sur les Marbres d'Elgin*, etc. Rome, 1818; 2nd edition (from which the passage is quoted), Paris, 1836.

of plaster casts can be produced. There is no evidence that the early Greek sculptors made plaster casts; there is evidence that they made lasting models of their statues. There are still extant moulds in which terra-cotta figures were pressed. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the small, thin and fragile sketches of a work like the Parthenon frieze, which was given into the hands of the marble-workers, were fixed and made capable of reproduction by clay moulds from which terra-cotta plaques, corresponding to the fragment we are considering, were reproduced.

The last question to be answered is: is it likely that such sketches would be preserved? To answer this in the affirmative it would have to be shown first, that the ancients did value original models by the hands of their artists, as we prize a sketch by a Raphael or a Michael Angelo; and secondly, that Pheidias stood in such esteem in later antiquity that his works and sketches were of an interest corresponding to that which we feel for the sketches of the great Italian masters.

The first of these points is proved by a passage from Pliny[1] in which we are told that the models (*proplasmata*) of the sculptor Arkesilaos brought higher prices than actual statues of other sculptors, and another[2] which shows that in the time of Pliny an antiquarian interest existed which drove people to pay high prices for old Greek plate for the sake of its antiquity even if the design were almost effaced. With regard to the second point, the tone in which the later authors speak of Pheidias shows that he was held in reverence almost approaching religious worship, and that everything pertaining to him was preserved with piety. I have before drawn attention to the fact that his studio at Olympia was built near the sacred Altis, was shown to the traveller in after-days, and has with much probability been identified by the German excavators at Olympia[3]. Is it then unlikely that the original models of Pheidiac works were carefully preserved by the ancients and were bought at a high price by one of those rich Roman amateurs, who gave so much money for the original models of an Arkesilaos?

[1] Overbeck *Sq.* 2268. (*H. N.* XXXV. 155.)
[2] *H. N.* XXXIII. 154.
[3] See *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, *l. c.*

Whether original or copy, the fact remains, that we have here to deal with an antique representation of the Athene of the Parthenon frieze, so far as extant, in excellent preservation, presenting us with the head which is destroyed in the original marble. This is, no doubt, an acquisition of considerable value, and most students will only view the discovery from this point. But the value which I chiefly see in this discovery, though I am fully ready to appreciate the worth of the plaque itself, is in the triumph of the method which led to it, namely, the comparative study of style. A student sees, while hastily glancing over the inferior portion of the large collection of a museum, a terra-cotta fragment among other works of a like nature; and he feels convinced that it bears the characteristics of an individual style which he has studied and compared with other styles. Upon careful examination he is as assured in his conviction as if he had a score of passages from the most trustworthy authors to back him. Upon confronting the fragment with an authenticated original, found in the very temple for which it was made, it becomes demonstrably certain that the fragment represents the same figure and exactly the same style of sculpture. Surely we must acknowledge that the method thus employed is sound—that it would have been a trustworthy guide, even though we had not the means of so happily proving the identity of the plaque by the extant relief among the Elgin Marbles.

NOTE D.

Page 204. "The lower parts also appear more projecting..."

The following attempt to account in a more exact way for the modifications of the technical working of the relief in the frieze has been made with the assistance of a friend.

Partly as an effect of difference of height from the pavement of the colonnade, and partly as an effect of light and shade, a given height of relief would appear greater in the lower than in the upper parts of the frieze, when seen from below. Thus, if an appearance of uniformity of relief is to be given, the actual height of relief must be greatest in the upper parts.

But quite another point is involved in the question of the relative heights of the relief in the upper and lower parts. It seems probable that the back-ground of the frieze, especially if it was conspicuous by reason of paint or gilding, would be instinctively assumed by the eye to be vertical. If this were so, then, if the relief was made of a uniform height, and so appeared to be lowest in the upper parts, the general surface of the figures would appear to the eye to be not quite vertical, but tilted back very slightly; and, if it is desired that the general surface of the figures shall appear to be vertical, the relief must clearly be made highest in the upper parts.

The question of apparent proportions of the figures is at the same time involved in the following manner.

Let us assume (as is really the case) that the general surface of the figures is vertical, and compare the two following cases; (1) that in which the relief is uniform so that the surface of the figures appears to be slightly tilted back, (2) that in which the relief is sufficiently greater in the upper parts to give the surface the appearance of being vertical. In these two cases the images of the outlines of the figures on the retina of the eye would be precisely the same; but the conclusions which the eye would instinctively draw as to the proportions of the figures would be not quite the same. For in the first case the eye would make an allowance for foreshortening due to a tilting back of the surface, which in the second case would not be allowed for as it would not appear to exist. Let us assume that in case (1) an eye makes a quite accurate allowance for the amount of foreshortening due to a tilting, the appearance of which would be corrected by an extra height of relief of 1 centimetre in the upper parts of the frieze. Then it is easy to see that figures of 1 metre in height would be judged to be 1·038 metres (that is, nearly 4 centimetres higher than they really were) by an eye placed 11·3 metres below the top of the frieze and at a distance of 3 metres from the wall. This may fairly be taken as the average position of the eye of a full-grown man when looking at the frieze from below. It still however remains to be established whether the correction introduced by Pheidias was exactly sufficient in amount for the purpose here suggested.

With reference to the point discussed in the note on page 79, it may be mentioned that, if an eye, placed 3 metres from the wall and 11·3 metres below the top edge of the frieze, is going to assume that vertical distances on the frieze which subtend equal angles are equal, it will be necessary, in order that an eye so placed may see the figures in their true proportions, that the vertical scale at the extreme top of the frieze should be to that at the bottom in about the ratio of 19 to 16. If an eye so placed is going to make the same assumption as to different horizontal distances, it will be necessary that the horizontal scale at the extreme top shall be greater than that at the bottom edge in about the ratio of 12 to 11.

ESSAY VII.

THE CENTRAL SLAB OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE AND THE COPENHAGEN PLAQUE.

ΦΑΙ. Οὐ πάνυ νενόηκα· ἀλλ' εἰπὲ πρὸς Διός, ὦ Σώκρατες, σὺ τοῦτο τὸ μυθολόγημα πείθει ἀληθὲς εἶναι;

ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ ἀπιστοίην, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοί, οὐκ ἂν ἄτοπος εἴην· εἶτα σοφιζόμενος φαίην αὐτὴν πνεῦμα Βορέου κατὰ τῶν πλησίον πετρῶν σὺν Φαρμακείᾳ παίζουσαν ὦσαι,.....ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Φαῖδρε, ἄλλως μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαρίεντα ἡγοῦμαι, λίαν δὲ δεινοῦ καὶ ἐπιπόνου καὶ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχοῦς ἀνδρός, κ.τ.λ. .....Ἀτάρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων, ἆρ' οὐ τόδε ἦν τὸ δένδρον, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦγες ἡμᾶς;

ΦΑΙ. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτό.

ΣΩ. Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, καλή γε ἡ καταγωγή. ἥ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή, κ.τ.λ.

Phaidr. I have never noticed it. But tell me honestly, Sokrates, do you believe this tale of mythology [associated with the plane-tree towards which we are walking] to be true?

Sokr. I should do nothing strangely out of the way if I were to refuse it credit, as the learned do, and go on in their rationalising method to say that, as the girl was playing with Pharmakeia she had been blown over the adjoining cliff by a blast of the wind Boreas, &c.....But for my part Phaidros, though I consider such explanations pretty, yet I esteem them the particular province of a very subtle, painstaking, and by no means enviable person, &c.....But by the by Phaidros, is not this the very tree to which you were leading me?

Phaidr. The very one.

Sokr. Well really it is a beautiful resting-place. For the plane-tree I find is thick and spreading as well as tall, &c.

ESSAY VII.

The Central Slab of the Parthenon Frieze and the Copenhagen Plaque.

It was my conviction that the terra-cotta fragment described in the previous Essay was part of a complete composition representing in small either the central groups, the gods, the priest and priestess and their attendants; or, still more probably, the whole of the Parthenon frieze. It was therefore highly probable, and remains so still more at present, that other fragments of this terra-cotta model of the Parthenon frieze might be lying buried in some of the numerous museums and private collections of Europe. From the illustrated catalogues and sale catalogues and other works relating to the Campana collection[1] it became evident that a vast number of terra-cotta figures and plaques, and, above all, undescribed "*oggetti e frammenti in terra-cotta*" were in this collection. The question then arose: was it possible to discover any other fragment that might prove to belong to the same terra-cotta frieze as the Paris plaque? Though my regular duties naturally precluded me from roaming about indefinitely in search of these fragments, I resolved to do all I could, as far as circumstances would permit, to examine the most likely places where such fragments might be deposited. It will be seen that one of these did appear in a locality where there had been no reason to expect it.

[1] The notices of the Campana Collection of Antiques are: (1) *Museo Campana, Antiche Opere in Plastica, discoperte, raccolte da G. Pietro Campana. Roma*, 1842—51; (2) *Description des Marbres Antiques du Musée Campana, à Rome, par Henri d'Escamps, Paris*, 1856; (3) *Cataloghi del Museo Campana;* (4) *Notice sur les objets d'art de la Galerie Campana à Rome, acquis pour le Musée impérial de l'Ermitage* (St Petersburg), with introduction by *E. Guédéonow, Roma*, 1861.

From the catalogues it became evident that a certain small portion of the Campana collection had gone to St Petersburg. It was therefore most desirable that the rich collection of the *Ermitage* should be searched with this point in view. I did not feel quite satisfied about Paris or the Louvre, though I had carefully examined the collection there and though M. Heuzey and M. de Villefosse had kindly examined the terra-cottas for me. I accordingly again went to Paris in June 1881 and made another search, and since then I have paid still another visit and also examined the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale and private collections, such as those of M. Camille Lécuyer and M. Gréau, without finding anything to the point. Professor Brunn, who was Secretary to the German Archaeological Institute at Rome during the Campana sale and was well acquainted with the collection, wrote to tell me that a small portion, containing those objects that had been in Campana's private rooms, had gone to Brussels. M. Juste of the *Musée Royale d'Antiquités* of Brussels has kindly informed me "that the Belgian Government bought in 1863 seventy-seven vases from the Campana collection, but no terra-cottas; and furthermore, among the terra-cotta bas-reliefs in his museum none seemed at all likely to correspond to my description."

The places that now seemed most likely to contain such fragments were St Petersburg, Italy (for reasons that will become evident, Rome[1] above all), and Greece.

I have not been able since to visit Italy and Greece; but, from the number of the competent archaeologists now in Greece, the interest which each smallest discovery on Greek soil now awakens, and the attention that is given to it, it is not likely that such a work would escape notice. Still, I remember some striking terra-cottas in the Barbarkeion Museum at Athens, and it is important that this collection should be carefully examined with respect of this class of terra-cottas.

Upon leaving Paris in June 1881 I remained a few hours

[1] Mr R. S. Greenough the American sculptor residing at Rome kindly undertook to examine the Vatican and Capitoline museums, but found no similar terra-cottas. Later on, however, in 1884, Mr A. Hamilton Smith was fortunate enough to discover in the Museo Kircheriano the lower part of the Athene and the Hephaistos

in Strassburg and mentioned the discovery of the Louvre plaque to Professor Michaelis. On my showing him a proof of Plates IX. and X., he was very much struck with the undoubted evidence, presented by this collocation, of the identity between the terra-cotta and the Parthenon marble. He informed me that Professor Eug. Petersen (now at Prague) had seen a small terra-cotta fragment, representing a boy holding a peplos, in the Museum at Copenhagen (Pl. XI.), and had pointed out the identity of this representation with the one on the Parthenon frieze.

Professor Petersen informed me that he had written a notice of this fragment in the Archäologische Zeitung for 1877 (p. 136). I found upon referring to his article that all he wrote seemed, as far as it went, to conform to what I expected—or rather hoped for. I then wrote to Professor L. Müller, the Director of the Royal Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen, who has since then been most obliging in furthering my inquiries, for the exact dimensions and, if possible, for a photograph of the plaque. These he kindly sent me, and the dimensions as well as the look of the work as presented in the photograph seemed to point out that this was a part of the same work as the Louvre plaque. Still in such cases first-hand knowledge is of the greatest importance. To feel and see the work itself is always the final proof for the enquirer. Here was a fragment in Copenhagen which was probably a part of the same composition as a fragment in Paris, both dating back to the great dead past of Greek antiquity—nay, the very piece which, in this long frieze, was immediately beside, and joined on to the Paris fragment.

It was not however till the middle of September that I was able to start for Denmark. It was a fortunate circumstance that Professor Brunn, whom I met at Munich, was on his way to St Petersburg. He kindly examined the Hermitage collection for me. Since then I hear from him, that, from the Campana collection, there are marbles, vases, and bronzes, but no terra-cottas at St Petersburg.

The first glance at the Copenhagen fragment proved its

adjoining the Louvre plaque. A full account of this, and a further discussion on the nature of all these plaques will be found in note F at the end of this Essay.

entire identity with the terra-cotta at Paris, not only in the dimensions and the peculiar technique of bas-relief work, but also in the quality and consistency of the terra-cotta itself, the colour, the peculiar working of the surface, and the same traces of a slight layer of a ground colour appearing in small spots here and there.

Prof. Petersen believes he has found traces of blue colour on the ground about the peplos and the neck of the boy. Prof. Müller doubts of the presence of such traces, nor could I notice any. The traces of a whitish colour, which I have just alluded to, and which appear distinctly on both these plaques in the two plates (IX. and XI.), were a kind of ground colour that was given to all the ancient terra-cottas before the upper coating was put on. It can be noticed on many of the numerous terra-cottas in every museum of antiquities. It would be something like the white of egg that is used by gilders with us as a fixative for the outer colour, as well as for the purpose of giving uniformity of tone in avoiding the appearance of the irregularities and the bare material from shining through the outer coating.

The whole fragment is 16 centimetres in height by 14 centimetres in width: the thickness cannot be computed, as the fragment is buried in the wall. The height of the relief from its ground in the highest parts is 18 millimetres.

A close examination of the piece itself proved beyond a doubt that this terra-cotta fragment, together with the Paris plaque, formed part of a terra-cotta frieze. As in the case of the marble frieze and all similar works of whatever material, a long band of this kind was composed of sections or slabs which were fitted together. In this case the Copenhagen and the Paris plaques form respectively the end and the beginning of immediately adjoining slabs. All this evidence was made complete when finally Prof. Müller had a cast of his fragment made and sent on to me, so that now it was possible to study at leisure and to examine and compare side by side the two casts taken from the Paris and Copenhagen originals, and both could be taken to the British Museum and "collated" with the marble frieze (Plates XI. and XII.).

The general proportions of the figures on these terra-cotta fragments bear the same relation to one another as that ob-

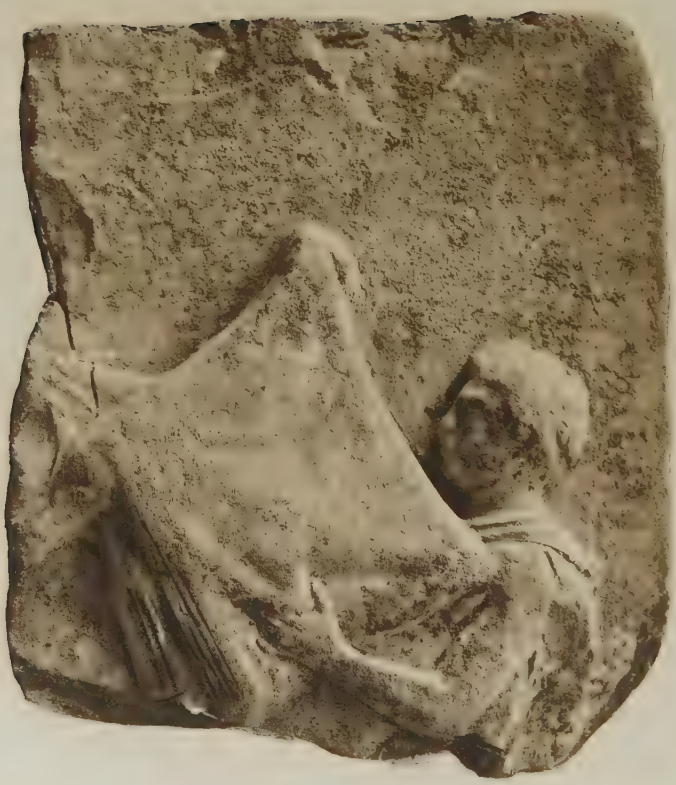

PLATE XI. TERRA-COTTA FRAGMENT, ROYAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN.

PLATE XII. BOY AND PRIEST FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

taining between the corresponding figures of the British Museum marbles. The interval between the boy and the Athene of the terra-cottas corresponds exactly to that of the marble reliefs, as does also the relative height of the head of the boy as measured by the Athene, in both instances the top of the head of the boy reaching to the beginning of the head of the Athene. The top of the peplos with the hand in both instances is on a line with the crown of the head of Athene. So too the distances from the traces of the head (in the terra-cotta), the head of the priest itself (in the marble), the top of the peplos, the head of the boy, and that of the Athene, to the upper border of the frieze are the same in both instances. As in the Paris fragment the Copenhagen terra-cotta has the same marked character of the Pheidiac relief-technique which we noticed in the previous essay: the sharp perpendicular edges firmly worked down to the back-ground, and the decided outline.

Of the priest there remains in the terra-cotta but the right fore-arm, the left shoulder with the visible hand, and the drapery of his garment comprised between these two points. The round outline of the breakage towards the left top clearly shows the outline of his head which holds the same position as in the original. The draped shoulder exactly corresponds, as also does the hand of the priest, of which the fingers appear on the upper end of the peplos.

The peplos is most strikingly the same in all its detail. Nay, in many ways the terra-cotta enables us to complete the modelling of the cloak and to notice lines which before escaped our eye in the marble, which, from its prominent relief has been very much effaced. This is especially the case with three small folds which are quite rubbed out in the marble, the traces of which can however distinctly be seen when guided by the terra-cotta. All the folds in the peplos are the same in both instances. The indentation caused on the peplos by the hand of the boy is very marked in both instances. So also the swelling out of the cloth between the fore-finger and thumb. However in the marble the outer or upper piece of the folded garment has four grooves on the side to indicate the folds, while in the terra-cotta there are but three. But in so small a model, especially a 'first state,' more lines could not well be brought in, nor was there any need for this.

The head of the boy on the marble frieze is almost completely destroyed, while in the terra-cotta it is in excellent preservation. This fragment again enables us to complete a figure from the frieze and to restore in mind the whole of this pleasing little figure. When comparing the head on the plaque with the remaining indications of the head in the marble, standing below the marble frieze in the British Museum, we are at first led to believe that the heads differ; for the head of the plaque then appears more pointed than the remaining outline of the marble seems to indicate. But when we mount to the level of the frieze in its present position in the British Museum, we find that the top of the head has been very much broken away, even more than the lower or middle parts, and that the remaining outline exactly corresponds to the pointed top of the extant head in the plaque. Nay we even find, that there was in the marble the same protruding lock in the front, like a little horn, a mode of wearing the hair, which, even in those early days, was common to younger people. In both cases the upward position of the head causes a distinct wrinkle in the neck of the boy. In both instances too a few stray hairs are indicated at the nape of the neck. The two folds of his cloak running to the peplos are identical. Where these folds run together the marble is somewhat washed out, not so the terra-cotta. There is the same triangular cavity in the two folds; the hand and arm of the boy are the same; the little finger, very distinct in the terra-cotta, is much effaced and hardly noticeable in the marble, unless carefully examined, and then it corresponds exactly to its indication on the plaque. In short, the identity is complete.

With respect to the genuineness of this fragment, the same arguments as those brought forward with regard to the Louvre plaque apply. It is difficult to doubt of its genuineness. Nobody (even if he had found it worth his while) could have copied so carefully from the marble since the destruction of the Parthenon in the 17th century. Nay, even then, though a scaffolding had been built for this purpose to the top of the frieze in its position in the Parthenon, we may assume that time had worn away much that, as we have seen, is indistinct in the marble and is yet clearly visible in the terra-cotta. All we learn from a care-

ful study of the fragment and its comparison with the marble frieze, speaks in favour of the last possibility enumerated in the previous essay, namely, that these terra-cottas might be remains of the original models for the Parthenon frieze.

From the information given to Petersen as well as from what I at first heard at Copenhagen, this assumption would at first sight even gain slightly in likelihood. For it was stated that the fragment had been brought to Copenhagen from Athens by the architect Chr. Hansen, the fellow-traveller of Ross and Schaubert. Now, the *Serie* VII of the *Classe* IV in the Catalogue of the Campana sale mentions "fragments in terra-cotta found on the Acropolis of Athens[1]." If the Copenhagen plaque undoubtedly came from Athens, it will be seen what light it would throw upon the origin of the Louvre plaque also. Feeling the importance of ascertaining definitely what the real provenance of this fragment was, I was very anxious to ascertain some personal information concerning Mr Hansen, his travels, his way of procuring antiquities, if possible even notes concerning the circumstances of his purchase or discovery of this fragment. I was greatly surprised and pleased to hear from Prof. Müller, that Hansen was still alive, though very old and in feeble health. But, upon Prof. Müller's taking the photograph to him, Hansen did not recognise it as being his aquisition, nor did he know anything about it, and denied having ever brought it to the museum. Thereupon Prof. Müller again examined the inventories of the museum and, as he now informs me, found the mention of a terra-cotta fragment which is without doubt the one under consideration. This fragment was bought in Italy (most probably at Rome) by the Danish landscape painter Lossoë, now dead, somewhere between 1850 and 1855. It came into the museum about 1855—1856. This, together with the fact that the Copenhagen and Paris fragments are the two adjoining pieces of the same frieze makes it almost certain that the two fragments were originally found at the same place in Italy, and it is probable that the same person sold the one fragment to Lossoë and the other to Campana[2].

[1] *Figurine e Frammenti di terrecotte provenienti dall'Acropoli di Atene.*

[2] This opinion is shared by Pennelli, who was with Campana as 'restorer,' at a time when he bought many of his terra-cottas.

That these fragments were found in Italy and not in Greece makes the assumption of the probable immediate connexion between these terra-cottas and the original sketches of the Parthenon frieze by Pheidias even more likely than if they had been found at Athens. For if the models of Pheidias were valued and kept by the Greeks, it is most likely that upon the dissolution of Greek independence and the wealth and importance of Athens, such portable remains would have been taken to Rome by some one of the rich Roman amateurs, who we know valued highly and coveted the possession of Greek "old masters." Moreover the fashion of collecting their works was just as great and as wide-spread in ancient Rome as it is with us to-day, and, as we have seen, this appreciation extended to the sketches and models as well as to the works themselves. These amateurs were often guided entirely by the collector's attitude of mind in which antiquities are valued for antiquity's sake. Thus Pliny tells us of the high prices paid in his time for old Greek plate for the sake of its antiquity, even if the design were quite undistinguishable[1].

The next question to be answered is: What is the subject represented by the two figures of which the fragment contains a part? In order to answer this we shall have to consider the whole of this central group and to enter into a discussion, in many ways unsatisfactory, to the solution of which we may, however, hope to contribute to some small degree.

The more I have consulted the ancient authorities concerning the Panathenaic festival, and the more I have treated the subject of this interpretation primarily from a philological and antiquarian point of view, the further did the problem appear removed from a satisfactory solution. With every passage from an ancient author and with every inscription, the number of possible meanings assignable to the group increases. I have come to the conclusion that the only hope for a definite result is to be found in the chief archaeological method[2], that is, to leave aside in starting the written traditions, to study without bias and pre-

[1] *N. H.* xxxiii. 157. *Subitoque ars haec ita exolevit, ut sola iam vetustate censeatur, usuque attritis caelaturis, si nec figura discerni possit, auctoritas constet.*

[2] See Essay I.

conception the work itself, and to follow the suggestions found inherent in it. (See also Note E at the end of this Essay.)

As we have seen, the gods of the eastern frieze are not grouped together in one continuous line, but are divided into two groups by five figures occupying the centre of the whole frieze (Fig. 9).

In the exact centre is a standing female figure considered by almost all authorities to be the priestess of Athene who is receiving or, according to some, offering objects placed on the heads of two smaller female figures before her. The one of these maidens is immediately facing the priestess; the other, from having been advancing towards the centre, is almost completely turned towards the spectator. From the mutilated condition of the slab as well as from the absence of any definite statement in ancient authorities concerning the subject of the whole frieze, it has been a natural consequence that the most varied meaning has been given to the objects[1] which these maidens carry on their heads. So some consider them to be baskets, thus making the maidens the *Kanephoroi, Arrhephoroi* or *Ersephoroi* of the Panathenaic festival, carrying in their baskets sacred loaves or barley or other materials used in the sacrifices; while most of the recent authorities hold them to be chairs with cushions, carried by servants of the priestess or by the *Diphrophoroi* of the Panathenaic procession. The object held in the hand of the girl nearest the priestess appears to me to be a leg quite similar to those of the chairs of the gods. Furthermore the photograph, if carefully studied[2], shows white marks running down the sides corresponding to the inner feet, painted or in relief, since broken away; while the projections and the extant boreholes correspond to the feet on the outer side nearest the spectator. What these objects definitely are cannot, as matters now stand, be determined beyond a doubt; though no doubt, any child from the streets of ancient Athens would have known

[1] See Michaelis, ibid. p. 263; *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Table C.

[2] For careful study of monuments photographs have peculiar advantages of their own which make them an invaluable supplement to the study of originals and casts. As they often reveal in manuscripts marks, letters and blemishes, which cannot be noticed in the originals, so traces of colour, former projections and mischievous restorations in works of ancient art are often more distinctly noticeable in them than in the originals.

it. Upon one most important fact all authorities seem agreed, namely, that these objects were meant to be used in the sacred ceremonies. Whether chairs, or baskets or trays containing loaves or meal and sacrificial implements wrapped in a cloth, whether they are supposed to belong to the treasury of Athene or not, the fact remains that the chairs, baskets and vessels with their contents, in ancient processions in general as well as in the special mention of the objects carried in the Panathenaic procession, were meant to be used in the sacrificial ceremony.

On the other side of the priestess is the bearded man giving to the boy before him, or receiving from him a folded piece of cloth. The bearded man is generally called *archon basileus*, priest, *hieropoios*, priest of Poseidon, or of Erechtheus, or the *tamias*, the steward of the treasury of Athene. Until recent years, it has almost universally been assumed that the priest is receiving from the boy the peplos dedicated to Athene at the Panathenaic festival which had been suspended to the mast of the sacred ship in the procession. Friederichs[1] was the first to gainsay this established interpretation; his arguments were, however, chiefly negative. Brunn[2] next pointed to the simple, but none the less important fact, that the priest is clad in a long under-garment, a *talaric chiton*, without the usual over-garment the *himation*, and that doubtless for the culminating and most solemn act of ceremony we have all reason to expect the most decorous dress and not a mere under-garment, which was the most convenient apparel when something requiring exertion and manual agility had to be performed. Finally, Flasch[3] has made a most careful enquiry into the gods and central group of the eastern frieze, critically analysing all the arguments in favour of the peplos theory, and bringing out with great strength all the arguments that would show this central group to represent the simple act of preparation for the ceremony, in which the priestess offered up prayers to Athene on the part of the Athenian people, and the priest performed the sacrifice of the hecatombs offered by Athens and its dependent communities. The most important fact which Flasch adds is his demonstration that the

[1] *Bausteine zur Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, pp. 163 seq.
[2] *Berichte der k. bayr. Akad. &c.* 1876.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 99 seq.

priest is not receiving the cloak from the boy, but that he is really handing it to him. This he makes evident in drawing attention to the way in which the priest holds the garment which he has just folded, which would not be folded in this irregular manner if the boy had been carrying it, while the priest would not seize it in this fashion if he were taking it from the boy; and, above all, the way in which the boy holds the peplos. This, Flasch maintains, would be an awkward method of holding up and offering a limp substance, while it is the evident and most natural way for receiving the garment.

I can thoroughly sympathise with the reluctance which many must feel to give up, first, an interpretation long fixed by custom, secondly, one so full of beautiful associations, and thirdly, to resign such a meaning for one seemingly so trivial. It does seem a great step downwards from the dedication of the sacred peplos of Athene, the culminating act of the Panathenaic procession, to the scene of a priest divesting himself of his outer garment. Yet we must not forget that what to our minds appears trivial was not so to the minds of the Greeks, simpler and less sophisticated—especially in matters connected with dress or nudity. Furthermore we must bear in mind that every act connected with the worship, the rites and ceremonies of the gods, was possessed of a solemnity and importance which raised it far above the corresponding prosaic action of daily life. We need but remember the solemnity attached to every movement and action of the priest in the ritual of the Church of Rome. Finally we must bear in mind that Pheidias was true to nature even in his representation of the gods, and that such an artist would have represented most clearly, true to the custom in life, the act of receiving the peplos from the boy, if such had been the action of the priest, and not have represented him in the act of handing it to the boy, though he would have found means of indicating the solemnity of this act in distinguishing it from the unceremonious, less solemn, and less individual scene of sacerdotal preparation. In a few words: he would have shown unmistakably, first, that something is offered to the priest, secondly, that what is offered is the peplos of the goddess, forming the culminating point of the great ceremony. It remains for the archaeologist to study carefully what the artist has really expressed and to base upon

this our interpretation. May not Flasch be right in supposing that the preconceived ideas derived from the traditional interpretation, handed down from generation to generation, have so blinded the archaeologists that they failed to read from the monument itself the simple story which it has to relate?

The most important evidence in favour of Flasch's view will be furnished if we find drapery similarly dealt with in extant monuments. Instances in extant monuments bearing immediately upon this scene abound. We need but consult numerous vases containing scenes from the baths and the palaestra[1] to see how frequently men are found putting on or off garments of their own corresponding to the one which is supposed to be the sacred peplos offered in great ceremony to Athene at the Panathenaic festival. The most instructive instance is a vase-painting (Fig. 10) published by Panofka[2], who makes the strangest use of

FIG. 10. Boy with a peplos, from a vase-painting.

it. A beardless man with a staff is standing opposite to a boy holding a piece of drapery very similar to the one on the frieze. The hands of the boy are not visible. His right hand is proba-

[1] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Vol. IV. (Badescenen, Rüstungsscenen und Palaestra).

[2] *Annali d. Inst.* 1845, p. 60, Pl. D, Fig. 3.

bly between the front and back fold. What exactly he is doing with it is not evident. It is probably one of the scenes of domestic life or of the baths showing a master with his servant. At all events it shows a similar *motive* to the scene on the frieze, and this scene on the vase has no relation to the Panathenaic procession and no sacred meaning[1]. If however it is connected with Athene's peplos (and this is believed by Panofka, who compares the two), then it shows conclusively that the priest is not receiving the peplos from the boy. The boy seems to be taking away the garment while the man is standing leaning on his staff and is making no sign of receiving it either then or afterwards.

As evidence that the scenes depicted on this central slab were not typical of any sacred religious function, but belonged to the sphere of every-day life, we need but consider in addition to the vase-painting representing the boy with his master's cloak (Fig. 10), another figure (Fig. 11) from a vase by Exekias where a boy is represented carrying a chair like the maidens in the frieze, but without any reference to the Panathenaic festival or any sacred ceremony. This vase[2] has on the obverse Achilles and Ajax playing at dice; and on the reverse, Kastor with his horse Kylaros, Tyndareos in front of the horse, and Leda and Polydeukes caressing his dog behind them. All the figures on this vase have their names inscribed. The boy with the chair is between Tyndareos and the horse, and is probably advancing towards Polydeukes, the only nude figure among the principal persons, who has probably returned from a victorious wrestling match. The servant boy carrying the

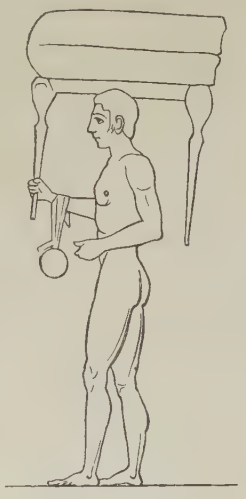

FIG. 11. Boy with chair, from a vase by Exekias.

[1] Levezow (*Verzeichniss der Vasensammlung des k. Mus. in Berlin*, No. 841) and Gerhard (*Berlin's antike Bildwerke*, p. 244), who were not struck by its resemblance to the scene on the frieze, are thus not biassed by the interpretation and consider it to be a domestic or bath scene.

[2] *Monumenti dell' Instit.* 1835, Pl. XXII.; Panofka in the *Annali dell' Instit.* 1835, pp. 228 seq.

chair, the oil-flask, and what is either a cloak or a cushion (more probably the latter) is here rendering a humble service to his master, just such as the young acolyte or the maidens with the priestess are about to render to their sacerdotal master and mistress.

The most weighty argument against the simple interpretation of this act and in favour of the peplos-dedication theory, is the central position of this representation in the frieze. The central place in a composition, especially in sculpture, and above all when it coincides with the main entrance of a temple, may *a priori* be considered to be the most important part of the whole composition. So far we should be led to assume that the central group of a frieze representing a ceremony, would contain the culminating act of this ceremony, which, it might be maintained, was in this case the offering of the peplos.

If this group be the culminating scene of the whole representation, we cannot help asking: why should this central act be so meagrely represented? Why should an artist, who had such a keen tact and feeling for the essence of his art, in which the size, bulk, proportions and fulness in the outer material ought to be in perfect harmony with the importance and spirit of what is represented, why should Pheidias give such small space, such sober and relatively thin lines to the most solemn feature of the whole festival? and above all, Why should he isolate the representation of this act from the rest of the procession and even from the gods? For they evidently and most distinctly turn their backs upon this supposed solemn offering to Athene, and no amount of assumption with regard to the licence of the sculptor in translating a scene full of life and variety into marble low relief can alter the fact, so clearly indicated in this representation, that both Athene and Zeus and all the other gods have their backs turned upon this central scene; and by no stretch of our imagination can we represent them to ourselves as being spectators of this offering. And even assuming this central group to be a representation of the supreme moment in the Panathenaic festival, the dedication of the peplos, this act is even then not clearly expressed. For we must ask: What is the real action of this group, the offering of the peplos or the handing of the chairs? In fact, it is the priestess who is really in the centre with her maidens

and not the priest with his boy. And from the space that is given to the left half of this composition as compared with the right half, as well as from the fact that the priestess has two attendants and the priest only one, we cannot help inferring, if we are open to this simple phase of the sculptor's language, that the offering of the chairs is the more important of the two acts—provided always that we insist upon seeing in this group a culminating scene of the whole composition.

Now, a very ingenious suggestion has been made to me by one of my pupils, Mr F. C. Chambers, in the course of our work. The central group placed above the wall corresponds exactly to the door leading into the temple in which stood the great statue of the goddess. Inasmuch as the spectator, when once he has arrived before the door under the inner colonnade, will have his whole attention and interest engrossed by the interior of the temple and the great statue, so far is this most central position not the most important. The fact of the main entrance being in the middle of the east front increases the importance of the central figures of the eastern pediment. The pedimental group is viewed by the spectator standing in front and outside of the whole temple, and the exterior form acts independently, without any encroachment on the part of the important interior. But when the spectator desired to examine the eastern frieze, he must have entered the outer colonnade under the exact centre of which was the door leading into the temple proper, the interior and contents of which must have attracted his attention, and so far have detracted from the specific importance of the exactly central position of the eastern frieze. This suggestion seems to me to point to the true solution of the difficulty.

I would here lead the student away from the minute examination of details to a point from which he may take a broader and more general view of the work under consideration, and we may hope for some useful results from such an examination. For it has sometimes been found that the practice of an occasional ordinary examination with the natural eye, often neglected by those whose aim it is to strive for the very elements of things in a most careful microscopical study of the primitive forms, may contribute greatly to the truth and produce good results.

I would ask the student to consider the nature and character of the whole composition of the Parthenon frieze. Does it on the whole convey the idea of a procession as a mere means to lead up to the dramatic centre of a ceremony? Or, does it not represent a procession as the end itself of the representation to which we are led up by scenes indicating the preparation? I do not hesitate to affirm that if we merely walk round the Elgin Room of the British Museum, beginning at the slabs that come from the western frieze of the Parthenon, until we come to the eastern frieze where the gods are manifestly viewing and enjoying this procession advancing towards them, we cannot fail to receive the impression that Pheidias desired to convey the idea, and succeeded in expressing it, not of a scene disconnected from and not suggested in the bulk of the representation, but of the procession itself. And if there are any suggestions of a future act, these are contained and clearly expressed in the procession itself, and not in a piece which is distinctly severed from this procession, and upon which all the figures turn their backs.

What a clumsy contrivance it would be on the part of the artist wantonly to break in upon the unity of the story told and the action represented, in severing the most interesting scene, the dedication of the peplos, from the rest of the composition, in hiding and dissociating the dedication of the peplos from the Athenian people, who offered it to the goddess, and, as we must assume, from the view of the gods themselves. This introduction of the gods into the frieze could but create a strange want of unity. These figures which sever priest, priestess, and peplos from the Attic people, would be nothing short of an interruption of the continuity of the entire scene of the frieze.

Yet we must bear in mind that, even if it is not the dedication of the peplos, there is still an interruption, a severing of this small central group from the main body. We shall see however that the act performed by priest and priestess is of such a nature that its remoteness from the public is essentially in keeping with its meaning. The real interruption will then be the severing of the group of gods into two halves. Yet we shall find that this very division was the reason why the sculptor introduced this central scene.

It might be maintained, as has been done, that the gods are supposed to be invisible. In real life no doubt, the gods were considered present at the festivals though they were not visible, and on all reliefs representing gods crowning victors or intervening to help their people the gods are represented as physically present, as much as in the epic descriptions of Homer and in the dramas they are physically present, though sometimes invisible to the person upon whom they act. Even in the real life of this plastic and simple-minded people the idea was not that the gods were merely there in spirit or floating in the air, as our children sensualise the spiritual from their reminiscences of the pictures of floating and winged angels; but their presence though unseen was to them of a more sensuous or real nature, as is borne out by the fact that, during feasts, they placed empty chairs upon which the gods might seat themselves. If this was so even in real life, in artistic representations the gods were always considered to be actually present. And it was contrary to the simple and direct mind of the Greeks, even of the time of the Sophists, to believe or to imagine that a thing was and was not at the same time.

Even without the gods, however, the central group is severed from the main body. For, as has been pointed out by Flasch, the group of magistrates on either side of the gods, who stand there with their backs turned to the centre or conversing with one another, cannot lead us to believe that the action upon which their back is turned is of the greatest importance and solemnity. These men are, as a matter of fact, awaiting the arrival of the procession, or ratner the collection of the people in the procession on the Acropolis. No doubt it is a procession that is represented on the Parthenon frieze, a procession that is to end in some act; but the procession itself is here represented above all things, from its beginning in the preparation and starting of the horsemen in the centre of the western frieze, to the leaders of the cows, and the sheep, the hecatombs offered to Athene, and the maidens bearing offerings and the instruments for sacrificing animals, on the eastern frieze; and these show the arrival of the head of the procession on the Acropolis where they are expected by the chief magistrates. How is it possible, says Flasch, that we are to assume that the chief

solemnity is actually taking place while as yet only the head of the procession has arrived at its destination on the Acropolis, and the end is but preparing to start. Surely we must feel the weight of his remarks when he interprets the central group as representing the preparation of the high priest and priestess of Athene for the great act which is to take place as soon as the multitude has assembled. All the suggestions of the nature of this act are clearly contained in the representation of the procession itself, namely the offerings of the fruits of the field to Athene and the hecatombs which are to be sacrificed in her honour. This is clearly expressed in the maidens bearing the offerings and the instruments for sacrificing the animals, which are the first to arrive on the Acropolis, and are followed on the one side by the cows, the hecatombs from Athens, and on the other, by the cows and sheep, the hecatombs from the country. The chairs (if they are chairs) borne by the maidens in the central group are, according to Flasch, destined for the high priest and priestess, who are, the one to receive the offering and to open the ceremony with a prayer to Athene, the other, to perform the sacrifice of the hecatombs. The priest is preparing for this act in divesting himself of his *himation*, which would doubtless be in his way in performing his task. Conze[1] rejoins to Brunn's indication of the unusual costume of the high priest, who is to receive with great ceremony the peplos, in pointing to an Attic sepulchral slab[2] in which the deceased is represented in the same long chiton with a knife in his hand. But there can be no doubt that this evident preparation for a sacrifice is the strongest argument in favour of Flasch's interpretation.

Mr A. S. Murray has had the great merit of insisting upon a point which was merely hinted at and implied in Flasch's monograph. Pheidias in this relief, which represents a large and continuous scene (as the relief in contradistinction to the round may to a certain degree do), has somewhat infringed upon the domain of pictorial art. He has not expressed in the lines and forms of the relief itself all that he wished to convey to the imagination of the spectator, any more than he was inartistic enough to aim at "archaeological" completeness in representing the Attic

[1] *Zeitschrft. f. öst. Gymn.* 1873, S. 443.

[2] Heydemann, *Marm. Bildw.* Nr. 475, S. 180; Pervanoglu, *Grabst.* S. 25, Nr. 28.

horsemen in full rank and file. In the central group it is evidently not his intention to produce in the imagination of the spectator a picture of this group in the identical position which the figures now hold in the bas-relief. In other words, there was a difference in the depth of the positions held by the various figures in the actual life of which this scene was a reproduction. This effect upon the eye of the spectator is reproduced on the flat surface of the painter's canvas by what we call perspective. Some sculptors, such as the very skilful *virtuoso* rather than artist Colin in his reliefs at Innspruck, produced this effect by means of working deeply into the marble and thereby actually attaining a foreground and a background. To such artifices Pheidias never has recourse. And even if he had desired to indicate such differences by means of a higher and lower relief, or by a sinking of the ground or body of the relief of one slab more than another; yet the conditions of the lighting of this relief from its peculiar position on the wall of the temple were, as we have noticed in the previous essay, such that any attempt of this kind was out of the question. There is no doubt however that the ground of the relief was coloured, and so the difference of plane could be easily indicated. I believe that Mr Murray[1] is quite right when he points out that the gods and the central group are not conceived as being in reality in one line but at different distances from the eye of the spectator. Only I believe that he is not right when he thinks that the central group is meant to be in front of the gods.

Though Pheidias may have meant to suggest and has actually suggested in some parts more than is immediately contained in the lines of the relief, still his, as any other well-regulated artistic imagination, would not attempt to put such a tax upon the imagination of the spectator that he is to picture to himself the very opposite to what is indicated in the artistic representation. In the string of horsemen on the north and south friezes, Pheidias has represented groups of horses and riders so overlapping each other that he succeeds in leading the imagination of the spectator to perceive small files of four and five riders at right angles from the front of the spectator. This

[1] *Revue Archéolog.* Vol. XXXVIII. (1879), pp. 139 &c. Pl. XXI.

is more than he has fully expressed and actually represented in the lines and forms of the relief; for here, as is necessary in such a work, he has represented them as following one another, though he has suggested their real position by means of their overlapping. This is admissible artistic suggestion, which predemands a normal and healthy imagination and necessarily leads it further and higher in a direction clearly indicated by what is represented in the work itself. But surely this is not the case when figures are represented as turning their backs on the scene, and the spectator is to imagine them in front of these figures, the immediate objects of their attention. Now the gods are turning their backs on the central group, and their attention is distinctly taken up by the procession to which all, with the exception of two that are conversing with one another, have their heads turned, and the Eros at the one end is admiring while his mother Aphrodite is pointing towards them. This central scene of preparation is in reality not taking place in front of the gods but at the back, behind them, and if we take a general glance at the whole of the two groups we shall see that, even without the aid of the coloured grounds now wanting, the central group is indicated as being somewhat in the background, especially by the way that Zeus and Athene stand forth.

In Mr Murray's ingenious pictorial restoration of this scene the maidens are advancing in one column in front of the joined groups of the conversing magistrates, and then we come to the high-priest and priestess with the serving boy and maidens, and these are placed in front of the gods who are seated in a semicircular group. This semicircular position is again not at all indicated in the relief as it is. From the Athene to the Eros there is a continuous receding and nothing to indicate a circular movement. Just as with the horsemen, here the chairs of those nearest the centre overlap their neighbours towards the angles. A continuous line at right angles to the spectator, so that the gods on either side of the centre would form one row at right angles to the front of the temple, is however not here produced as in the case of the horsemen, or else this overlapping would have to be continuous, and the chair of each god from the centre would have to overlap that of his neighbour towards the angles. But this is not the case, the overlapping being only in part, and

so the figures are not represented as being in a parallel line with the front of the temple and the spectator, nor at right angles to them, but in oblique lines from the spectator to either corner of the front, in an arrangement corresponding to what military men call *échelon*.

We must remember that in this frieze the gods are not joined and do not form one continuous group, but are divided into two groups, the one headed by Zeus, the other by Athene, running towards either corner of the front. Far from being an undesired break, this is, to my mind, the very intention of the artist, the very cause and essence of the severing of the central group at which I have before hinted.

The chief cause of the introduction of the central group is to be found in a difficulty, paltry as it may appear to those who are not, as artists, acquainted with the difficulties of art-production, but of a kind that is frequently most perplexing to the artist. Pheidias has overcome this difficulty and has in fact worked what at first partook of the character of a subterfuge into the essential harmony of his whole composition in a manner worthy of such an artist. What this difficulty was becomes most evident when we examine Mr Murray's restoration. The gods are here placed in a semicircle, Zeus in the centre, Hera on his right and Athene on his left. But surely this would be a festival, a procession, and an offering in honour of Zeus and not of Athene. Pheidias wished to introduce the congregation of the gods as spectators of the festival in honour of Athene. He must give a prominent position to Zeus in this congregation; yet if he places him in the centre, the story in the language of this figurative art will distinctly be that it is a festival in honour of Zeus and not of Athene. (See Essay V. p. 140.) If he were to place Zeus and Athene together in a prominent position he could surely not sever Hera from Zeus, placing her in an inferior position to Athene. Paltry as it may seem, such a difficulty must have been most perplexing to any artist, and the tact of Pheidias in dealing with this difficulty is of the same virtue as are those weightier qualities of his genius to which such high epithets have been applied. He severs the two groups by means of a small composition, not so important as to make the figures of the gods a mere ascending scale, not of sufficient weight in the action represented to attract the eye

and interest of the spectator to man and his performances after they have dwelt upon the figures of gods (which would be a sad anti-climax), and yet in harmony with the whole composition and contributing some part to the story told. Athene now has a proper prominence; she is the head of one group of gods and corresponds in her position to Zeus, and Zeus holds his prominent position at the head of the other group, his superior authority being indicated by the throne on which he sits, while the other gods are seated on chairs without backs and arms; and Hera is in her wonted place as the queenly spouse beside the king of the gods[1].

This is the real *raison d'être* of the central group which, at first meant to overcome a difficulty, has at the same time been made a most harmonious finale to the whole composition. As the back of the temple, the western frieze, begins with representations of the preparations for the procession, so the front, the eastern frieze, ends with the scene of preparation for the sacrifice to Athene which is to conclude the whole festival. It is like a musical composition, some great movement of a symphony, which begins with a simple *tema*, developes it into the most manifold and varied forms through all gradations to its culminating point, until the first *tema* is slightly indicated at the end in a modified form, so that it leads over to the second movement. And this last composition, though not of sufficient importance to form an anti-climax to the group of the gods, is still not of such triviality as to be unbecoming for its central position on the eastern

[1] The scene of the eastern frieze in real life would be as follows: the procession upon reaching the Acropolis and having entered through the Propylaea splits into two halves before the west of the Parthenon, the one half drawing round the north, the other round the south side, and at some distance from the eastern front they again join into one column and draw up taking their proper position to witness the final sacrificial ceremony. Here, where the spectator of the eastern frieze is supposed to stand, are immediately before him the chief magistrates who are waiting for the arrival of the procession. Towards either angle of the front, the first two not joined but leaving an open space like the frustum of a cone, are, in the frieze the gods, and in real life, most probably, the empty chairs, upon which they were supposed to seat themselves. Through this open space one can perceive in the background, either in the temple (in the opisthodomos, the vestry, as it were), or in front of it, the high-priest and priestess preparing for the ceremony, who will, when the procession is taking its final position advance for work through the open space left by the chairs of the gods to the altar of Athene and there perform the sacrifice.

front. On the contrary, without being intrinsically weighty, its meaning as an action in the sequence of performances of the festival as indicated in the frieze is such, that it most properly forms the central knot which finally ties together the two ends of the composition. As I have said above, the real subject represented on the frieze is the procession; and this is not regarded as a mere means to the culminating point of interest, the dedication of a peplos, not represented in the frieze; and if anything is suggested as taking place after the procession, the elements of this act are contained within the representation as it stands. These elements are the offerings and hecatombs at the head of the procession, and the act which is to take place after the procession represented on the frieze, is the sacrifice of the hecatombs. When the representation of the procession ends, the sacrifice begins, and all this is clearly expressed in the composition of the frieze of the Parthenon. The composition begins at the preparation for the procession, the bulk of the composition; and it ends with the scene of preparation for the sacrifice, not expressed, but clearly suggested. Pheidias has as a true artist left something to the imagination of the spectator after the mere eye has done with the work before it; but, as will always be found in the work of a great artist, it is something clearly suggested, and decidedly not something directly opposed to the suggestions themselves.

NOTE E.

Page 239. "To follow the suggestions found inherent in it."

It appears to me that the importance of the dedication of the peplos among the ceremonies of the Panathenaic festival, *especially in the time to which the erection of the Parthenon belongs*, has been over-estimated. This, I believe, is chiefly to be attributed to the fact that the current interpretation of the central slab of the frieze, so long established and so often repeated, has become fixed in the minds of scholars as the most striking feature of that work.

Though I have throughout this essay endeavoured to avoid formulating a new interpretation of the Parthenon frieze, and, leaving the literary traditions, have striven to limit myself, as far as possible, to those conclusions arrived at by an examination of the monument itself, still I feel driven to point out certain conclusions concerning the

interpretation of the whole frieze which have forced themselves upon me in connexion with the examination of the central slab.

The earliest mention of the peplos, though not in any immediate connexion with the Panathenaic festival, still less with the procession, is in Euripides' *Hecuba*, l. 466 (about 423 B.C.), and in Aristophanes' *Birds*, l. 826 (414 B.C.), probably also in the *Frogs*, l. 565 (B.C. 428). Thucydides makes no mention of it.

The origin of the ceremony of its dedication, not as yet a part of the Panathenaic festival of later times, goes back to the earliest years of the establishment of an Athene worship on the Acropolis of Athens. In connexion with the very ancient and archaic wooden statue of Athene Polias in her temple on the Acropolis, the mythological tradition among the Athenian people considered this statue to be the dedication of Erichthonios. Similar to the Palladium of Troy, this ancient wooden statue was clothed in actual drapery, just like some quaint images of the Virgin Mary, especially in Italian churches. As there was no need for a continual renewal of the wooden core even if this had been possible and desirable, it sufficed that the drapery should be periodically renewed, and thus, once a year, at the birthday of the goddess and the ensuing feast, a new garment was offered her in lieu of a new statue. But this was not yet the Panathenaic festival, as the authorities of later times, from whom we derive our information, depict it.

At the time at which the Parthenon was completed a new and most glorious image was dedicated to her, provided with a golden garment, and on that occasion, at least, the other ceremony, if it was still in practice with reference to the ancient ξόανον of Erichthonios, receded to the background.

The real prominence of the peplos in the procession and in the ceremony only comes in when once it is attached as a sail to the ship which is drawn through the streets, and when it thus appeals to the feelings of the Athenians by means of their maritime power which, through Themistocles, had become so prominent a feature in the Attic polity. But the earliest authorities make no mention of this part of the procession. We do not hear of it till the beginning of the 4th century (Mich. pp. 212, 329, No. 165); and after that it is made the chief feature of the procession in the descriptions of these later authors.

Now, it appears to me that this form which the ceremony assumes after the time of Pericles, is the result of an intermingling (*contaminatio*) of the ceremonies in commemoration of Theseus with those dedicated to the worship of Athene. And this supposition will gain in weight the more we bear in mind, (1) that, in the course of time the various ceremonies of gods and heroes strongly tended to intermingle; (2) that Athene and Theseus became more and more closely associated as the patrons of Attica, and that they both have an especial share in the constitution of the Panathenaic festival; and (3) that after the Persian war the chief prowess of the Athenians consisted in their maritime force, a suggestion of which they would naturally tend to introduce in connexion with their patron deity.

To show the process of its introduction we must look more critically into the nature and history of the whole festival.

The Panathenaia, as we know them, were more a political festival than immediately a part of religious worship. The word denotes primarily a union of the Athenian people, and only secondarily reflects upon the supreme sway of the goddess Athene. The festival grows more a festival in honour of Athene the more that goddess comes to be considered the chief patron of the Attic people, when the latter had become established in their union and leaders in the political life of Greece.

The supreme worship of Athene in Attica is, together with the worship of a Panhellenic Zeus in Greece, the religious concomitant of the political feeling arising in Attica and in Greece after the victories of the Persian war.

Before this the worship of Athene was not so supreme in Attica. There existed older rites, superior to or at least coordinate with her worship, such as that of Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis, Aphrodite, Artemis, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Dionysos, Herakles, &c.; and each attempt at centralisation of political power and assertion of national supremacy, leading with it a centralisation of religious worship[1], towards a distinctive national deity, led to a more pronounced preference for her worship. In the earlier times, the other gods had their festivities with their games; but more and more the festival games in her honour not only eclipse the others in splendour but these even become modified in that Athene together with Theseus are introduced into the ceremonial primarily in honour of some other deity. So, for instance, Athene, as *Athene Skiros*, has part with Dionysos in the *Oschophoria*, a preliminary celebration of the vintage of which Theseus is considered the founder. In fact Theseus (probably in the time of Kimon) becomes strongly mixed up in the whole of the *Pyanepsia*, primarily a festival of Apollo.

The various marked stages in the history of the Panathenaic festival are, (1) the dedication of the ancient ξόανον by Erichthonios: (2) the act of uniting the separate tribes of Attica into one centre (Athene and the Acropolis) by Theseus, called ξυνοίκια or συνοικισμός; (3) the introduction of greater pomp, and the establishment of the greater Panathenaia by Peisistratos in every fourth year; (4) the introduction of musical games by the Peisistratidae; (5) further similar additions by Pericles.

The act of Erichthonios is the least historical in character. It points to an early establishment of a worship of Athene Polias on the Acropolis along with the earlier worship of Zeus Polieus.

The real establishment of the festival and games is attributed to Theseus; and here the festival is of an essentially political and national character, which it maintains ever after until the worship of Athene becomes identical with the glorification of the Athenian people. The tradition concerning the act of Theseus marks above all things the union of the Attic people with one local centre, the Acropolis of Athens, and this it is, the ξυνοίκια, which gives its character to the festival. The earliest and best authority, Thucydides, in speaking of the early history of Attica (II. 15. 2) simply calls the festival by that name[2].

It is a significant fact that all subsequent political movements that tended towards the centralisation of power in the Attic state were marked by some addition to this festival; so with Peisistratos, the Peisistratidae and Pericles.

Peisistratos appears to have formed the plan of a united Greece with Athens as

[1] It will be an important task for future writers on Greek mythology to trace the history of the worship of the gods in various districts in its relation to the political history of each nation, and not only in the mythical stages of a nation's history, but in the historical periods of their growth or decline and the corresponding modifications of the worship of their deities.

[2] Compare also Plut. Thes. 24; Paus. VIII. 2. 1; Schol. Plat. Parmen. 127 A; Suid. and Phot. Apostol. 14. 6. When A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 111 seq., makes a separate festival of the Synoikia and combines it with the worship of Eirene, he is certainly wrong, as in Thucydides v. 47 there is no implication of a worship of a goddess Eirene, an idea which really only gained mythological personality in the fourth century. It is a strange critical method, to deal with the direct statement of the identity of the Synoikia and Panathenaia in Plutarch by merely maintaining that the ancient author made a great mistake (*Plutarch hat einen grossen Fehler begangen*, p. 84).

the leader; and, as the Olympian games which began to flourish so greatly about his time brought the whole of Greece together, uniting in the games of Zeus, so he appears to have taken these for a model and to have attempted to create Attic games of similar fame with Athene as the patron. Thus he establishes greater festivals at a period of four years like the Olympiads, and these festivals are used in Athens as a division of time similar to the recurrence of the Olympian games. He too, like Theseus, turns his attention to the full establishment of a metropolis, in rebuilding parts of the town and improving the roads all over Attica; while he and his family develop to the highest degree the worship of Athene, through whose interposition, according to Herodotus (I. 60), he was supposed to have been introduced to sovereignty. He fixes the head of Athene as the emblem on Athenian coins; he and the Peisistratidae began the great Hekatombeion, the earlier temple, which was followed by the Parthenon. It is in this time, no doubt, that the worship of Athene began to be supreme, as the feeling of national power on the part of the Attic people was rising, and it is in this time that the religious festival of the birthday of Athene and the Thesean Synoikismos (both taking place in the same month Hekatombaion) seem to me to have been firmly welded together.

But the temple of Athene built by Peisistratos was never destined to be completed. The Persian invader destroyed almost the entire town of Athens. The Athenians after the war had to set to work to rebuild their destroyed homes, and there ensued a new Synoikia revived with a new spirit of national vigour and power. The resettling of Athens completed by Pericles was the occasion of a new festival similar in its conditions to that of the union under Theseus, only far grander, and the festival was to be glorified by the dedication to the goddess of a new grand 'house' and a glorious image clad in a garment of gold. To Athene and Theseus, the divine and heroic patrons of Athens, the victory over the Persian foe is chiefly attributed, and they are considered to have actively intervened. The worship of Athene and of Theseus are now fully fixed and have reached their highest point, and the two elements are now thoroughly combined, the goddess and the religious act becoming thoroughly national in character, and the Synoikia receiving a religious colour. Athene and Theseus henceforth are thoroughly blended in the devotion of the Attic people, and if the Thesean elements in the festival have been infused with ceremonies belonging to Athene, the rites connected with Theseus are sure to become infused into the Athene festival, even those not connected with the Synoikia.

Thus it is that when time has somewhat effaced the exact definitions of ceremonies, the maritime element is introduced into the festival of Athene in the fourth century through the close relationship of the goddess with the hero who founded it. We need but to read in Himerios (*Or.* III. 12) the description of the ship, on the mast of which the peplos is suspended as a sail, filled with priests and priestesses and decked with flowers, to see how this is the ship of Theseus which was kept in repair down to the time of Demetrios the Phalerean (317 B.C.), and in which, decked with flowers, the sacred embassy was sent to Delos. Moreover the sail in the myth of Theseus had a particular significance.

Thus it is that in later times the peplos obtained an importance which it did not possess in earlier times, and which could not come into consideration on an occasion when a great statue was offered to the goddess.

The feeling of *Panathenaism* reaches its highest point after the Persian war, and the consciousness of this supremacy is to be noticed in all expressions of public life and in all the works of art belonging to this period. The Panathenaic festival with its procession

is primarily an expression of Attic unity. How then would an artist commemorate the event and represent the scene?

In an essay on the Parthenon frieze by Th. Davidson recently published and with much, I must say most, of which I cannot agree, the author rightly criticises the common interpretation of the Parthenon frieze in maintaining that there are no instances in Greek art of the representation of a general indefinite custom such as a periodically recurring event. Though there is one instance of the representation of the various athletic games without any reference to definite contests or victories on the throne of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, still the author is right in maintaining that it was contrary to the Greek mind to represent generalisations without clothing them in the sensuous form of some definite type or event. But he is strangely misled by the word "event" into assuming that the Greeks then chose some contemporary historical event. Of this there are no instances in sculpture in the time of Pheidias. We do hear of paintings in the Stoa Poikile at Athens (by Mikon, Polygnotos or Panainos), a secular building in which among mythological scenes, such as Theseus leading the Greeks against the Amazons, are represented the battles of Oinoë and Marathon. But in the battle of Marathon (to this Pausanias devotes a few words of description while he merely mentions Oinoë) Theseus, Athene and Herakles take part and so the action receives a mythological character. Other instances of approach to the representation of an historical, still less contemporary, event even in painting I know none in the time of Pheidias.

But contemporary events were commemorated and represented in art by a fixed method congenial to the Greek mind. The lasting type of the attribute or event was made the artistic bearer of the thoughts and feelings of the time. This the Greeks possessed in the myths of gods and heroes. And thus, for instance, the warlike glory of the Greeks was in all times represented and their individual victories commemorated by the mythical types of Greek prowess over barbarian forces, such as the Gigantomachia, the Amazonomachia, the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths. In Athens those myths were chosen by preference to commemorate the victory over the Persians in which the Athenian hero Theseus distinguished himself, and so the Gigantomachia is one of the subjects of the metopes of the Parthenon.

When the sculptor desired to represent on the frieze the Panathenaic procession and all that it meant to the Athenian, he sought for the mythical type of this festival, *the* Panathenaion. This type is the real founding of the festival and the establishment of the political unity of the Attic people in the Synoikia of Theseus, the national hero and the active shield of the Greeks at Marathon.

I therefore see in the Parthenon frieze the representation of the Synoikia of Theseus. It is needless to say that in these mythical representations the Greeks did not strive after imaginary archaism, but represented the customs and people of their own time, the Lapiths as Attic warriors, and the Thesean festival as the festival they saw before them, the youths and warriors that made Athens great. Thus this scene, commemorating the great festival of the day, recalled the foundation of Attic national greatness by the patron hero, and glorified the protecting goddess of the Athenian state.

In all the works of the Parthenon Pheidias has glorified the Attic people and Athene, and it is a normal development to which we have alluded in the second essay that he should have risen in his last period from Athene and Panathenaism at Athens to Zeus and Panhellenism at Olympia.

NOTE F.

Page 232. "The places that now seemed most likely to contain."

In the winter of 1883–84 Mr A. H. Smith, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, started on a tour of archaeological research in Italy, Sicily, and Greece. Acquainted as he had become with the methods of investigation advocated in this book and knowing the state of the inquiry concerning these terra-cottas, as well as the questions therein involved, he was well fitted to undertake the continuation of the search for further fragments. He thus endeavoured, while following his own studies, to examine the various collections he met with with a view to such terra-cotta fragments.

In February 1884 Mr Smith wrote to tell me that he had found a fragment, which he believed to be part of the same work with the Louvre and Copenhagen fragments, in the *Museo Kircheriano* at Rome. He enclosed a small photograph of the fragment taken by him from the original; and from this it appeared probable that the fragment in question contained the lower portion of the figure of Athene of which the Louvre plaque presents the upper part, together with the complete figure of Hephaistos seated beside Athene in the frieze. The importance of Mr Smith's discovery will be readily perceived. For, on the one hand, it might prove to complete the figure of Athene besides adding another complete figure to this series of terra-cotta reliefs, and, on the other hand, forming part of the *Kircheriano* collection, it might be possible to find definite records concerning these terra-cottas and their *provenance*.

The early catalogue of the Kircherian Museum by Bonanni, published in 1709[1], contained no mention of such a work. It now remained to examine the exact relationship between this terra-cotta and the other fragments at Paris and at Copenhagen and to search for records concerning it on the spot.

In April 1884 I visited Rome and examined the fragments at the Kircherian Museum, having brought with me a cast taken from the Louvre plaque. The terra-cotta (Plate XIII.) consists of several fragments, so carefully fixed together by the restorer, that the fact of its having previously been fractured only becomes evident upon close examination. There could be no doubt that the subject was that of the two figures in the Parthenon frieze, and upon placing the cast of the Louvre plaque beside the upper part of the fragment the pieces joined absolutely, the Louvre plaque thus completing the figure of Athene, while the Kircherian plaque contains the whole figure of Hephaistos.

[1] The full title is *Musaeum Kircherianum; sive Musaeum a P. Athanasio Kirchero in Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu jam pridem inceptum, nuper restitutum, auctum, descriptum, et iconibus illustratum a Philippo Bonanni, Societatis Jesu*, Romae, 1709. fol.

PLATE XIII. TERRA-COTTA PLAQUE, MUSEO KIRCHERIANO, ROME.

The next important task was to find any museum records concerning this fragment. Professor Pigorini, the director, could find none,—in fact there are hardly any papers concerning the Museum in his possession.

If it formed part of the old Kircherian collection, those connected with the museum when it was still under the Jesuits would be most likely to know its history. I found the Padre Tongiorgi, the late Jesuit director of the museum, who informed me that there were no records concerning the museum in existence, and upon my showing him a photograph of the terra-cotta, he assured me that it could not have been there before the museum passed into the hands of the Italians in 1871.

The first curator of the museum after the Jesuits was Prof. De Ruggiero, who was in the act of publishing a catalogue[1]. He kindly showed me the proof-sheets of the catalogue referring to terra-cottas. The fragment is there mentioned under number 315. From him I learnt that this terra-cotta was bought by him along with a number of similar works, about forty in number, from a dealer living somewhere in the Via Babuino. He paid three hundred francs for the whole lot, and he thinks that he must have valued this fragment at from 20 to 25 francs. He assured me that there could be no doubt as to its genuineness. I then endeavoured to discover the dealer in the Via Babuino to ascertain, if possible, further particulars concerning its *provenance;* though both Prof. Pigorini and Prof. De Ruggiero assured me that it was hopeless to expect to get a true statement out of a dealer. I went from shop to shop in the Via Babuino, showing a photograph of the fragment, inquiring if they had ever seen the terra-cotta, and whether they could let me have similar pieces. The fragment was unknown to them all, and my offer to purchase similar pieces was met with the regretful reply, that it was Greek and that they had none ("*e roba greca, non ne abbiamo*").

It was upon leaving one of these shops that I met the American sculptor Mr Franklin Simmons, in a store-room of whose studio I came upon a plaster cast with these identical figures from the frieze, the heads complete and identical with the terra-cottas, the whole about the same dimensions as the fragments in the Louvre, at Copenhagen, and in the Kircherian Museum. Mr Simmons had bought them at the sale of the studio furniture of the great Italian sculptor Tenerani some few years back. He referred me for further information to the sculptor Prof. Anderlini who had been Tenerani's assistant for many years. Prof. Anderlini informed me that he had known these casts for a long time and that he did not believe that they were made by Tenerani. He thought it impossible for them to have been made either in the Barocco period or in modern times: they were too large and simple. He had these casts and further complete casts of the frieze of the same dimensions in his studio. It is a remarkable fact, and one which I shall again refer to, that some of these are inferior to the figures of which the terra-cottas exist. Tenerani had worked with Thorwaldsen and Wagner in restoring the Aegina marbles now at Munich. Was it not possible that, with machine reductions of the marbles in the British Museum, he might have restored these heads? The keeper of the Tenerani Museum in the Via Nazionale, Tommaso Cardelli, seventy-six years of age, a distant relation of Tenerani's, worked under that great sculptor since 1840, and remembers these casts to have been there at that time. He did not believe that they were made by Tenerani.

I now decided to act on the assumption that the terra-cottas might be forgeries, and I resolved to play the part of a detective in search of the possible offenders

[1] The first part has appeared, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano,* Parte I. *Roma,* 1878.

against truth. I accordingly visited the shops of dealers in antiques with the air of a colleague in this profession. I took with me the cast of the Louvre plaque, and the photograph of the Kircheriano terra-cotta, and asked for an antique like them or for information whether and how I could get one made. I could find no terra-cottas of this description, but I ascertained the address of a skilful "restorer" residing in a small street near the Coliseum.

As I was about to ring the bell of the apartment on the top floor occupied by the "restorer", I noticed an open door with a ladder-like staircase leading to the roof, and I instinctively felt that this would lead me to the sanctum of iniquitous productions. I found two young men at work on the flat roof, preparing some brew over a stove. Behind them was a shed, evidently the workshop. They were displeased with my encroachment, but I greeted them as if they were old acquaintances, entered the shed and seated myself upon a box. The room was filled with artistic riff-raff of every description: a triptych with barely more than the gilded back-ground which was probably to be turned out as a work of Cimabue, black canvases in shreds and tatters, old frames, fragments of bronze and iron, of antique marble to be completed in composition and matched in colour, old glass and pottery. A black mass in a kettle had pieces of bronze inserted which were receiving their antique patina and corrosion. A few easy remarks freed the artists from their mistrusting reticence, and I proceeded to show my specimens and to ask them whether they had any work of the kind. But neither they nor their father, who joined us subsequently, knew of anything like it. From the photograph and the cast they thought that the terra-cottas must be genuine antiques. The father and one of the sons examined the terra-cotta in the Kircheriano; but I soon found that it is an invariable habit with people of this kind to endeavour to ascertain what you would like them to say and to modify their statements accordingly. I commissioned the father to find for me the original moulds from which these terra-cottas were made years ago, and I have reason to believe (if modern they be), that he did his best to gain information among his colleagues; but none of the "restorers" knew of the existence of such terra-cottas. I had an "antique" terra-cotta made from the cast of the Louvre Plaque, and have compared it with the original, but the difference is so marked that even an untrained eye can easily perceive its inferiority in every respect. The clay they used was a mixture of Campagna-clay with river-clay from the Tiber, with bits of stone added. As they put it: "*mezzo creta di cave e mezzo creta di fiume e puzzolana.*"

It is needless to give an account of the fruitless search after the forger on the assumption with which I started. On the last day of my quest I made inquiries of a plaster-cast maker who was supervising the casting of a clay model by two of his assistants. "There is an old man," he said, "who might have made such a thing. He was a model and exceedingly skilful at making forgeries from his employers' work. His name is Gaspero. Where he lives? Let me see—I know him well; he is a very old man, but I saw him a few months ago." While he was thus puzzling to remember Gaspero's address and I expressed my determination to find him out somehow or other, his assistants, though they were aware of our difficulties, proceeded quietly with their work. "Do you know where Gaspero lives, Antonio?" asked the master of one of them. "*Sta a San Lorenzo*[1]," was the reply. I found a son of Gaspero, but he knew nothing of such terra-cottas. He showed me specimens of his father's work, that were however of quite a different character.

[1] "He is at San Lorenzo." San Lorenzo is the burial-ground.

I thus failed to obtain any definite result concerning the history of the terra-cotta or of the reductions of the plaster-casts during my inquiries at Rome.

The important question which now presents itself is: What is the relation of these casts to the terra-cotta fragments. It is evident that there must be some connexion between them.

We have the following materials for the study of this question. First, there are the three terra-cotta fragments themselves, recognised as genuine antiques in three important museums, the Louvre, the Royal Museum of Copenhagen, and the Museo Kircheriano. I have collected here, at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, reproductions of all the monuments bearing upon this question. They are these:

(*a*) There are casts from each of the three terra-cotta fragments mentioned above. Each of these we can ultimately trace back to Rome. The Louvre plaque we know to have been with Campana some years before 1861; the Copenhagen fragment was bought by Lossoë between 1850 and 1855, and has been in the museum since 1855; the Kircheriano fragment was bought by Prof. De Ruggiero for the museum after 1871.

(*b*) There is the pseudo-antique terra-cotta made for me at Rome from the cast of the Louvre plaque.

(*c*) I have succeeded in obtaining duplicates of the complete set of casts in the possession of Prof. Anderlini at Rome. The terra-cotta fragments are practically identical with the corresponding representations on these casts. I shall dwell upon the points of similarity and difference as we proceed. These casts are known to have been in the possession of Tenerani as far back as 1840.

(*d*) I have since found a set of old casts, somewhat smaller (ranging from 27 to 28 centimetres) than those of Prof. Anderlini, at Brucciani's in London. A workman there says he remembers them thirty years back. They are inferior to those from Rome. There are no heads that are not extant in the marble frieze. They seem to be simple reductions from the original slabs. The seated gods and the central slab are not among them, and they are chiefly composed of horsemen, maidens and magistrates. The sixteen pieces contain the following portions of the Frieze according to Michaelis' plates of the frieze:

No.	1.	Michaelis	Eastern	Frieze	VII.
,,	2.	,,	,,	,,	VI. fig. 48.
,,	3.	,,	,,	,,	VI. ,, 44 & 45.
,,	4.	,,	,,	,,	VI. ,, 42 & 43.
,,	5.	,,	Western	,,	XII. ,, 23.
,,	6.	,,	,,	,,	X.
,,	7.	,,	,,	,,	IV.
,,	8.	,,	,,	,,	VII.
,,	9.	,,	,,	,,	IX.
,,	10.	,,	,,	,,	II.
,,	11.	,,	,,	,,	V. fig. 9.
,,	12.	,,	,,	,,	VIII.
,,	13.	,,	,,	,,	VI. fig. 11.
,,	14.	,,	,,	,,	III. ,, 5 & 6.
,,	15.	,,	Northern	,,	XLI.
,,	16.	,,	,,	,,	XLII.

(*e*) Finally, there are Henning's small restorations (about 6 centimetres in height) which have been popular for so many years. They were made between

1817 and 1820[1]. These were reduced from the marbles in the British Museum, and the figures were restored by the sculptor. They are instructive in showing how incapable a skilful modern sculptor is of rendering the qualities of early Greek work. This is brought out very clearly in the case of heads that are extant in the original, while his restoration of the heads of Athene and of Hephaistos is typically modern, whereas in the terra-cottas and the Roman casts these heads are Greek in character.

The real enigma remaining is the relation between the Roman casts and the terra-cottas. These casts range from 30 to 32 centimetres in height, and are fifteen in number. They contain the gods and the central slab of the eastern frieze, as well as specimens of the northern and southern friezes. The following are the subjects acccording to Michaelis' plates:

No.	1.	Michaelis'	Eastern	Frieze	III. figs. 14—17.
,,	2.	,,	,,	,,	IV. ,, 20—23.
,,	3.	,,	,,	,,	IV. ,, 24—27.
,,	4.	,,	,,	,,	V. ,, 28—30.
,,	5.	,,	,,	,,	V. ,, 31—35.
,,	6.	,,	,,	,,	V. ,, 36—37.
,,	7.	,,	Northern	,,	XXXVIII. & XXXIX.
,,	8.	,,	,,	,,	XL. & XLI. figs. 125—129.
,,	9.	,,	,,	,,	XLII.
,,	10.	,,	Southern	,,	XVIII.
,,	11.	,,	,,	,,	XXX.
,,	12.	,,	,,	,,	XL.
,,	13.	,,	,,	,,	XLI.

No. 14 is a mixture between Michaelis' Northern Frieze XIV. and XXII. and No. 15 is a mixture between Eastern Frieze XXXVIII. and XLII.

Now there are three possible relations of the terra-cottas and the casts to one another. 1. The terra-cottas may have been pressed from moulds taken from these casts. 2. The casts may have been taken from the terra-cottas as far as extant when they were together at Rome. 3. The casts and terra-cottas may independently be derived from the same original source.

1. If the terra-cottas were made from these casts before 1855, they are evidently very ingenious forgeries made with intent to deceive; inasmuch as they bear all the marks of age in the working of the terra-cotta itself to such a degree that the very capable directors of the three museums were convinced of the antiquity of the terra-cotta. I have become more and more impressed with the fact that, of all materials, the semblance of antiquity can most readily be reproduced in terra-cotta, though the specimen I have had made at Rome is so clearly inferior. For if the forgers use the same clay as did the ancients, leaving it in the same crude state, with small stones, bake it to its proper hardness, and then put it under similar conditions with regard to the wear and tear of its position under the ground, there is but little change in the mere material, which from the beginning has been interfered with by the hand of man. It is the character of the design then which affords the one criterion; but if the design is immediately and mechanically reproduced from an antique, the complication grows to its highest point. The fact which speaks most strongly for this possibility is in the comparative dimensions of the works before us. Thus the same measure from the bottom of the round fold in the drapery beside the wrist of Athene to the top

[1] E. Braun in the *Annali d. Inst.* 1854 p. 15; cf. *Annali* 1851 pp. 89 seq. They are published by photograph in the *Monumenti d. Inst.* 1854, tav. II.

of the head is ·158 m. in the Roman cast, ·149 in the Louvre plaque, ·141 in the terra-cotta forgeries made for me at Rome. Other similar measurements concerning this portion as well as the parts contained in the Copenhagen and the Kircheriano fragments yield similar proportions. It will be seen that the proportional diminution in size from the Roman cast is the same in the Louvre plaque as in the Roman imitation. The Roman imitation is a terra-cotta reproduction taken through the medium of a cast from the Louvre plaque, and the diminution is caused by the shrinkage of the terra-cotta through the baking. If the Louvre plaque was in the same way taken from the Roman cast, its diminution in size would be accounted for.

2. The arguments adduced in the preceding essay against the possibility of the Louvre plaque being a forgery, would speak in favour of the possibility that these portions of the Roman casts were restored from the terra-cottas when they were together in Rome, and that subsequently other parts of the frieze were more freely restored. It is a curious fact that these very figures of gods are the most perfect of all represented in these casts; while the restoration of heads and figures, notably the walking maidens (Michaelis' Eastern Frieze III.), are more modern in character and design. I was much interested to hear at a recent visit to Paris most of the arguments of the previous essay brought by Pennelli, the restorer of the Louvre Museum, against the possibility of the plaque being a forgery. But I must mention the fact, that the possible previous existence of these complete Roman casts, from which a forger could take his mould and press his clay, would do away with the necessity of such a marvellous restoration on his part. It further remains difficult to understand how all traces of these terra-cottas should have been lost, when the artist who made the complete set of casts could hardly have been unaware of the nature of the work he was reproducing.

3. The third possibility, namely the independent co-existence of terra-cottas and casts, both having an immediate relation to the original works of Pheidias, has much in its favour. This is especially the case if the parts now missing in the Elgin marbles were extant when the casts were made from which the Roman reductions are taken. The opinion of specialists with regard to the terra-cotta would then have its full weight, and most of the arguments previously adduced in favour of their genuineness would apply.

The reason which leads me to suppose that the heads, especially of the gods and central slab as rendered in the Roman casts, were extant in the originals is, in the first place, the internal evidence of these casts. For, while most of the heads are quite in the character of the art of that period and of the heads extant at the present moment, some few, especially those that seem to have been in a poor state in Carrey's time (such as South frieze fig. 73 and fig. 112), are inferior and more modern. The nose of fig. 31 (the first of the serving maidens from the central slab) seems worn away by time, not as if this had taken place in the cast, but in the actual face from which the cast was taken; while now the whole face has been destroyed in the marble original.

There are a great many heads still extant at present. Nearly all the heads were extant in Carrey's time. The explosion in the Parthenon which rent the temple asunder during Morosini's campaign, did not affect the frieze as it did the other sculptures. Unless actual attempts were made to carry away portions of it, much damage could not be done. According to the accounts of travellers[1] the wanton destruction, be it through negligence or in the attempt to carry off fragments, seems to

[1] Compare Michaelis pp. 72—76.

have been most active shortly before Lord Elgin carried off his prize; while the vicissitudes of their transport when in his possession, delay and storing at Athens, packing, shipwreck, etc., may account for much further damage.

Now the following points in the later history of these sculptures must be carefully borne in mind in these investigations. Some were overlooked, the important bearing of others was not appreciated by me, at the time I was writing the text of the preceding Essay, but it is evident that they bear materially upon the question. Choiseul-Gouffier began in 1784 to have casts taken of the sculptures of the Parthenon, and his agent Fauvel continued this task, and the artists commissioned by Lord Elgin began their work with drawing and casting. Where all these casts have gone we do not know. Two pieces in the immediate vicinity of our fragments from the Eastern frieze are only known to us through the casts taken by Choiseul-Gouffier, namely the boy Eros with Aphrodite and the adjoining magistrates, and in these cases the heads are intact. We must further bear in mind that, though Stuart is not to be trusted implicitly with regard to the completeness he gives to the figures, in his drawings, taken from 1751 to 1755, the figures in question still have heads and we must also note that all the figures to the (our) right of Hephaistos, the six gods, have the heads now extant. This slab, containing the central group and Athene and Hephaistos, would have been the one first to be cast, as it was removed from its position and was within reach. It must have been removed from its position before Carrey's time, as he omits it. It is no doubt to this slab that Babin refers in his letter to the Abbé Pécoil in 1672[1], when, after describing the frieze, he tells us that one slab had fallen to the ground and was preserved behind the door within the temple (then mosque)[2]. In Chandler's time (1765) it was let into the wall of the fortress; for he no doubt refers to the whole of this long slab when he says[3]: "...with other figures a venerable person with a beard reading in a large volume which is partly supported by a boy [no doubt the priest with the boy and the cloak]. This piece, now inserted in the wall of the fortress, is supposed to have ranged in the centre of the cell." In 1785 Worsley saw it lying on the ground before the east front of the temple; while, according to Visconti, it is again immured in a house whence Lord Elgin's workmen take it[4]. Chandler's "venerable person with a beard" could hardly have been without a head, and it is most probable that he would have mentioned the fact if all the heads of this slab had been mutilated as they now are.

E. Braun[5] tells us that casts of all the central figures (on which he is writing) were made by an Italian Andreoli, and brought to Rome[6]. Andreoli, it appears, brought his casts from Athens[7]. Further, in another article[8], Braun mentions reductions made by the Collard process of the figure of Aphrodite, which reduction, he learns through Visconti, was taken from the cast taken by Choiseul-Gouffier "of the

[1] Cf. Michaelis, Anhang III. p. 336, 31.

[2] Une de ces grandes pierres qui composoit cette ceinture s'est détachée de son lieu, et étant tombée a été portée dans la Mosquée derrière la porte, où l'on void avec admiration quantité de personnages qui y sont representés avec un artifice nompareil.

[3] *Travels in Greece*, 4to. Oxford 1776, p. 51.

[4] Cf. Michaelis p. 258.

[5] *Bullettino d. Inst.* 1851, p. 19.

[6] Tal pezzo importantissimo è stato scoperto sotto le rovine di quell' edifizio in occasione degli ultimi scavi, ed il sig. Andreoli che ha formato tutte queste preziose relique, n' ha recato un gesso a Roma. *Ibid.*

[7] *Annali* 1851, p. 89. Riportati da Atene dal sig. Andreoli.

[8] *Annali* 1851, p. 326.

figure as Carrey saw it," and he feels convinced that the original will be found at Paris[1].

At this stage of the investigation, where necessity compels me to pause for the present, it may be well to sum up the results at which we have arrived so far. These results may be briefly stated in the form of the two questions which now await solution:

(1) Are the Roman casts which have certainly been in existence since 1840, reductions taken by the Collard process from the early casts of Choiseul-Gouffier, reduced perhaps by Andreoli?

(2) Are the terra-cotta plaques of Rome, Paris, and Copenhagen, which must have been in existence in 1855, genuine fragments of an ancient rendering of the frieze, or forged fragments reproduced from the Roman casts?

I am bound to add the conclusion which I am myself at present inclined to adopt.

As regards the first question the facts brought forward in the preceding paragraphs point to an answer in the affirmative; and it appears to me highly probable that the casts taken before the present mutilation of these slabs may have rendered the figures in the completeness which our representations show, and that the Roman casts are reductions from these early casts taken before the marbles had left Athens. Their truthful rendering of the character of the frieze certainly goes far to warrant this conclusion, especially when they are compared with Henning's restorations, in which the parts supplied by the restorer are at once apparent to anyone who has made a special study of the work of Pheidias.

As to the second question it will be seen that I have been unable to come to any definite conclusion in my own mind. When engaged upon writing the Essays VI. and VII., which I have thought it best to leave standing as they were written, I was unaware of the existence of the Roman casts, and I had also overlooked the bearing of those notices relating to the later history of the frieze, which I have now brought forward from Braun and Michaelis in the last few paragraphs of the present Note. If, on the one hand, the terra-cotta plaques are genuine antiques, they of course possess an intrinsic value and interest a thousandfold greater than any which either their purchasers at the time, or the keepers of the museums in which they are now preserved, ever thought of attributing to them. If, on the other hand, they are not genuine antiques, they cannot possibly be mere reproductions like the Roman casts, they must of necessity be forgeries, such as I have shown above that it is not impossible for a skilful forger to produce. If, however, this suggestion be accepted, and we look upon the plaques as knowingly forged to represent a genuine antique rendering of the frieze, we are brought face to face with the fact that there is no trace of their having ever been used to impose upon any collector of antiques, seeing that in every case they have been treated merely as fragments, of some interest perhaps, but certainly not of any particular value, still less of such value as would necessarily attach to a terra-cotta professing to be an early rendering of a monument of such interest as the frieze of the Parthenon. We are thus in a dilemma from which it is hoped that future investigations may by some fresh discovery release us. I am bound to say that the view, which to my own mind presents the fewest serious difficulties, is that the plaques are genuine

[1] Più importante è l' investigazione di quella donna [Aphrodite] al di cui grembo Erittonio [Eros] s' appoggia. Da una notizia di E. Q. Visconti risulta che Choiseul-Gouffier ha fatto cavarne un gesso, quando ancora si trovò conservata tale quale Carrey la vidde. Ora sembre che il gesso ridotto col processo di Collard sia stato cavato da quello menzionato dall' erudito archeologo romano, ed io sono persuaso che l' originale si troverà tuttora a Parigi. *Ibid.*

antiques. I must ask the reader, however, to bear in mind, that the point which I have been most bent upon illustrating is not so much the question whether these terra-cotta plaques are genuine or forged, as the necessity of following the comparative method of study as applied to the style of works of art. The question of the actual history of these fragments is, so far as these Essays are concerned, a secondary consideration, though I have honestly endeavoured, to the best of my power, to solve the problem with regard to their origin. I hold it to be certain that the heads and other portions, which are here preserved though lost to us in the frieze as it now exists, are not the invention of modern restorers; and if they were based upon mechanical reproductions from the originals, while still comparatively unhurt, they could not fail to display those indications of the art of Pheidias, which first attracted my attention to the fragment in the Louvre. Whether really ancient or not, we may be confident, after what has been brought forward above, that they actually represent the originals; and they have certainly led to a minute study of many details of the *technique* of Pheidias, which cannot fail to bear fruit as time goes on and fresh facts come to light which the properly trained archaeologist will know better and better how to use for the elucidation of truth.

ESSAY VIII.

THE ATHENE PARTHENOS AND GOLD AND IVORY STATUES.

.....ὅμοιον ὄντα τοῖς μεγάλοις τούτοις Κολοσσοῖς, οἵους ἢ Φειδίας ἢ Μύρων ἢ Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησαν· κἀκείνων γὰρ ἕκαστος ἔκτοσθεν μὲν Ποσειδῶν τις ἢ Ζεύς ἐστι πάγκαλος, ἐκ χρυσίου καὶ ἐλέφαντος συνειργασμένος, κεραυνὸν ἢ ἀστραπὴν ἢ τρίαιναν ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ· ἢν δὲ ὑποκύψας ἴδῃς τά γ' ἔνδον, ὄψει μοχλούς τινας καὶ γομφοὺς καὶ ἥλους διαμπὰξ διαπεπερονημένους καὶ κορμοὺς καὶ σφῆνας καὶ πίτταν καὶ πηλὸν καὶ πολλήν τινα τοιαύτην ἀμορφίαν ὑποικουροῦσαν.....

.....being like unto those colossal statues as Pheidias or Myron or Praxiteles made them; for of these too each one appears from without a Poseidon or a most beautiful Zeus of gold and ivory holding in the right hand a thunderbolt or the lightning or the trident; but if you stoop down and look within, you will see some bars, clamps and nails driven through and fastening it, and logs and wedges and tar and clay and many similar ugly things.....

Lucian, *Gallus*, 24.

PLATE XIV. THE VARVAKEION ATHENE, ATHENS.

ESSAY VIII.

THE ATHENE PARTHENOS AND GOLD AND IVORY STATUES.

In the winter of 1881 the archaeological world was startled and perplexed by a telegram sent by the Mayor of Athens to the Lord Mayor of London, stating that the Athene Nikephoros of Pheidias had been discovered. The archaeologist could not help feeling perplexed and sceptical, knowing in the first place the exaltation of mood which always accompanies a new discovery and the exaggeration to which it leads. It was also evident, in the second place, that of the Athene statues by Pheidias it could not possibly be the gold and ivory Athene Parthenos, which, even if it had not been destroyed could not well have lain hidden, large in dimensions as it was, under the ground, nor the Athene Promachos, which stood on the Acropolis and must have been at least forty or fifty feet in height. The only statue that could possibly have been meant was the bronze Lemnian Athene, so highly praised by ancient authors. But this statue was not a Nikephoros, it did not hold a Victory. Nothing remained but to wait patiently for some further light. The statue (Pl. XIV.) soon turned out to be nothing more than an inferior late Roman copy of the Athene Parthenos, important in many ways in confirming or modifying the views which archaeologists had already formed with regard to the arrangement and disposition of the details of this statue, yet otherwise quite incapable of assisting a well-guided imagination in arriving at any conception of the original work and its spirit. It has been the subject of careful articles by learned Greek, French, German, English, and American

archaeologists[1], who have for the most part said all that can well be said about this work. Nevertheless it appears to me that two points still require to be definitely stated. On the one hand the novelty of the discovery, as is generally the case, has led to a somewhat exaggerated estimate of the artistic value of this Athene, especially in its relation to the so-called Lenormant statuette (Fig. 14). On the other hand an accessory in the statuette has been held to be ascribable to the original Athene Parthenos by some authorities, and, it appears to me, has not been conclusively shown by others to be a superfluous addition.

Both these points have an important bearing upon this great work of sculpture: the one upon the spirit of the composition itself, the other upon the nature of these gold and ivory statues, and therefore will well repay a reconsideration of the lately discovered statuette.

During some public works, the workmen, while digging in the small street to the north of the Varvakeion (the ancient northern boundary of the wall of the city), came upon a Roman house in which they found the statuette. It is of Pentelic marble, which, as Lange says, probably came from the quarries on the north side of the Pentelicon. The height including the plinth is 1·035 metres (about 3 ft. 5 in.). The plinth is 0·103 m. The width of the plinth is 0·41 m., while the depth on the right side is 0·331 m. and the left only 0·285 m., so that it is not quite

[1] Kavvadias, Ἀθηνᾶ, *ἡ παρὰ τὸ Βαρβάκειον εὑρεθεῖσα*, Athens, 1881; Dragatses, *Parnassos*, IV, 1, 33, seq., Hauvette-Besnault, *Bulletin de correspond. hellen.* 1881, pp. 54—63; Lange, *Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Arch. Instit. in Athen*, V, 4, p. 370 seq., also VI, 1, p. 54 seq.; Michaelis, *Im neuen Reich*, p. 356 seq.; Newton, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, II. 1, pp. 1—7; Gildersleeve, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. III., 1882, pp. 666 seq.; Mitchell, *The Century Magazine* XXIII, 4, p. 552 seq.; Schreiber, "Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias, &c." *Abhandlungen d. K. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissensch.* VIII. No. 5, 1883. The last of these treatises has appeared since this Essay was written. In it some of the points of this essay have been anticipated, especially some of the arguments against the existence of the column of the Varvakeion Statuette in the original gold and ivory statue. Dr Schreiber and Dr Lange have gone through a large number of statues of Athene and, with the help of the newly discovered statuette, have made a classified list of replicas which had been well begun by Michaelis. To make such a list or to deal with questions of the details of the Athene Parthenos was not the aim of this Essay. I have proposed merely to show some points in which the new statuette is defective and to convey some idea of the structure and appearance of chryselephantine statues and their artistic relation to modern taste.

square. Athene is clad in a sleeveless talaric chiton. The peaceful aspect of this virgin Athene, in contradistinction to the bronze Athene Promachos who was fully equipped, and yet the suggestion of her power (if need be) to protect her people, are expressed in the way in which the shield rests by her side. From the position of her hand on this shield, in confirmation of the statement of Ampelius and of the ingenious restoration of Flaxman, the spear must have idly leant against her left shoulder. Though she wears the crested helmet, the cheek pieces are evidently turned up. She is not fully dressed, being without the diploïdion, and she holds the Nike on her right hand. From all this it is evident that Athene is here represented as having entered her house after a long struggle, with the intention of remaining peacefully among her people and of patronising their more peaceful arts. For the other details I may repeat what has been well stated by Mr Newton:

"A Gorgon's head ornaments the centre of the aegis and also the centre of the shield. Within the concave of the shield the serpent which Pausanias supposed to be Erichthonios is coiled; the Nike, who holds out some object in both hands, is half turned towards the goddess.....On its discovery the marble showed traces of gilding, of the application of colour and a high polish of the surface.....The right arm is supported by a pillar. The base on which the figure stands is plain.

"On comparing the statuette with the description in Pausanias and in Pliny we see a very satisfactory coincidence in most of the details. But the following features in the original design are wanting: the spear in the left hand of the goddess; the battles of Greeks and Amazons on the outside, and the Gigantomachia on the inside of her shield; the relief on the base representing the birth of Pandora; the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs on the soles of the sandals. Several of these missing details may be supplied by comparing the rude little marble figure discovered at Athens by Charles Lenormant many years ago with the fragment of shield formerly belonging to Lord Strangford and now in the British Museum. On the base of the Lenormant statuette the Birth of Pandora is indicated by a series of rudely executed figures, and on the outside of the shield the Amazonomachia is very clearly represented. For the spear in the left

hand of Athene we must look to the smaller representation of the chryselephantine statue on Athenian coins and reliefs[1].

"The column below the right hand of the goddess which we find associated with the newly-discovered statue is an unwelcome addition to this composition, which I feel very reluctant to recognise as a feature in the original design of Pheidias; such an adjunct seems a very clumsy expedient and unworthy of his genius. It is true that such a support to the arm of the goddess is found on an Athenian relief published by Boetticher[2]. But on the other reliefs and on coins which represent the Athene Parthenos the arm is left free in mid-air. Michaelis in his recent memoir argues that such a support may have been necessary on account of the great weight of the Victory which is calculated to have been 4 cubits, or about 6 feet high, and which he assumes to have been like the goddess, gold and ivory. But I am not aware that any ancient author tells us of what material the Victory was formed, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary I think we are justified in assuming that this figure was cast either in gold or some other metal, gilt. This material would I consider be much lighter than the chryselephantine work with its inner core of wood.

"Michaelis says, the weight to be sustained would have required a structure such as would now be used. But why should not the ancients, who were most skilful metallurgists, have had within the chryselephantine arm of the goddess a bar of copper or wrought iron, bent at the elbow, and affording a support quite independent of the outer casing of wood on which the ivory was attached? Such a bar would be, what, in the language of modern architecture, is called a cantelever, and the upper extremity could have been securely attached to the inner frame or skeleton of the statue[3]."

Added to what we already have, the Lenormant statuette, the Strangford shield, and the fragments of the shield in the Vatican and Capitoline Museums, this newly-discovered Varvakeion statuette enables us to form a definite conception of the actual pose and composition of the Athene Parthenos and the details and accessories of this great work. The presence of an

[1] See Michaelis, *Parthenon*. Pl. xv. [2] Michaelis, Pl. xv. Fig. 7.
[3] Newton, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* II. 1, pp. 2—4.

actual and tangible work bringing before our eyes the shape of the helmet, the position of the shield, &c., is an advantage which no amount of literary tradition could afford us. And from this point of view, when the recognition of true facts independent of artistic value is the proposed aim, nothing can appear small or unimportant. Thus Athenian coins and the Aspasios gem in the Vienna cabinet are valuable in completing our notion of the helmet as shown by the new statuette by the addition of a row of horses running as a border in the front.

But here the value of the new discovery ends. Of the actual spirit and artistic character of the Athene Parthenos these works can give us nothing. They are but weak and, in part, vulgar reminders which may call forth a somewhat adequate picture in our imagination if, through other channels, we have been able to form some conception of the spirit of the art of Pheidias. If the Sistine Madonna of Raphael were destroyed, a reminder of this work, corresponding somewhat to the statuettes in question, would be the figure of this virgin and child painted on a common china cup in some Saxon village. Or the relation between the original Athene Parthenos and these statuettes would be like that between the Choral Symphony of Beethoven performed by a perfect orchestra and chorus, and the great work rendered in part by unskilled hands on a pianoforte out of tune. Both these vulgarised reminders would be of use if, through other channels, we had been able to form some idea of what the art of the great painter and musician was like. So if we knew some of the drawings or other paintings of Raphael and had copious notes written by people who had seen the Sistine Madonna, the common cup would form a good frame-work of fact which our reproductive imagination might somewhat adequately complete if otherwise it was well saturated with the spirit of the art of Raphael. So too if we are musical to start with, and have heard other symphonies of Beethoven, or (and this is a closer analogy to our case) merely some short piano sonata well rendered, the unskilled rendering of the great orchestral work on the pianoforte might help us to reconstruct in our minds something of the effect of the Choral Symphony.

In our case these statuettes furnish us with a solid basis of fact; yet an idea of the spirit of the great work itself will only

be conveyed when the impulse is given to our imagination and the direction for its ascent prescribed by the records of the effect which the work produced upon the ancient authors who saw it, and above all, by the spirit of the art of Pheidias as it shines forth through the Parthenon marbles, minor works of Pheidias though they be.

Between these two reproductions of the great statue there is a difference in the adequacy, or rather, inadequacy with which they render the artistic spirit of the original. And here it is, it

FIG. 12. The Lenormant Athene.

appears to me, that archaeologists have over-estimated the value of the new statuette in comparison with the Lenormant statuette. The small and unfinished Lenormant statuette has in it a slight reminiscence of the greatness of character of Pheidiac art of which the larger, polished and finished Varvakeion statuette is entirely devoid. The difference lies in the men who made them. The one was to some degree an artist, the other was merely a handicraftsman. The difference between the two corresponds to the difference between the rapid and unfinished sketch of the Sistine Madonna by even an inferior artist, as compared with the vulgar cup-painting which the manufacturing painter has finished as far as his craft admits. The higher finish of the new

statuette has deceived archaeologists into over-estimating its comparative artistic merit; while, as a matter of fact, the more an inferior work is finished the more strikingly does its inferiority obtrude itself. This is so in many aspects of life. A simple analogy, again taken from music, may suffice as an illustration. If a country girl were to sing a passage from some elaborate masterpiece of music, of which the simple and grand melody has clung to her memory, the greatness of the work might in some way be recalled to us; but if she were to attempt to reproduce the quavers and elaborate forms, the greatness of the work would vanish and her own absurd clumsiness would stand forth in bald uncomeliness.

The best test for appreciating the superiority of the Lenormant statuette over the Varvakeion statuette in its remote suggestion of the largeness of the art of Pheidias is an experiment similar to the one suggested in Essay II.[1] If we were to make a tenfold enlargement of the new Athenian statuette, the work would be more repulsive and less grand than it is at present, the coarseness of the features, the awkwardness of the pose, would be exaggerated tenfold. If, on the other hand, we were to enlarge the Lenormant statuette into colossal dimensions, and were to half close our eyes, or to stand at some distance in order to lose the unfinished surfaces of the sketch, the work would no doubt possess qualities of grandeur.

The clumsy handicraftsman has increased the effect of imperfection in his work by the introduction of the column as a support to the right hand of Athene. This column immediately suggests to us the technical difficulties with which the artist had to grapple, in every branch of art a suggestion most fatal to the production of artistic illusion. It is strange that the nature of this merely mechanical subterfuge was not immediately recognised. Kavvadias is the only one who has distinctly felt this and has brought forward strong reasons against it. If we examine the evidence which supports the attribution of the column to the original, as suggested by the new statuette, we find that it is a relief at Berlin, first published by Boetticher[2]. But how can this free copy or adaptation be considered as evidence on this point

[1] See Essay II. pp. 78 and 79.

[2] Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Pl. XV. Fig. 7.

when the ten other reliefs and the four Athenian coins, which Michaelis has collected on the same plate, represent Athene without the pillar? This is not a case of bringing quantity against quality, for Fig. 17[1] and the coin 27 at least are as near the statuettes as is Fig. 7 with the pillar. If we study the nature of all these reliefs, the column on relief No. 7 as well as the evidence afforded by it will be accounted for. On all these reliefs the goddess Athene is represented in some peculiar action: she is either crowning a victor, or, in reliefs heading an inscription containing some public treaty or proclamation, she is facing the Attic Demos, receiving the solemn pledge. She is then represented as either crowning the victor or allowing Nike on her hand to offer the wreath, or is standing before her altar, or opposite the Demos with the snake between them. In order thus to represent the patron goddess of Athens, the sculptors of these reliefs found it convenient to resort to the familiar type of the Parthenos of the Acropolis; yet it was not with the view of making a copy of the statue that they borrowed the type from Pheidias, but because this type served to accomplish the aim they had, namely to represent the goddess Athene. They therefore did not hesitate to modify the type and to deviate from the original statue which they used as a model. And so we find that on all the coins the snake could not well be indicated and was omitted. On coin 21 the shield with the Gorgon's head is placed in front of Athene; on reliefs 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 17 the snake is omitted; on 9, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 17 the Nike is omitted; on 6 and 13 the snake is placed between her and the Demos, and so on. Nay, we might as well expect that because 14 and 17 have an altar under her hand the statue of Pheidias also had one, and that because in this very relief No. 7 Athene has no spear and the snake is not represented by her side, that therefore the original statue was also without these attributes. In this relief No. 7, as in the other reliefs, a definite action is represented, the crowning of the victor. He is standing before the pillar and Nike on the hand of Athene is bending forward, almost flying down, to place the wreath on his brow. In the plate of Michaelis the hand moreover is not resting

[1] For the works here referred to, see Michaelis, *ibid.*, Pl. XV.

upon, but is above the pillar. This pillar is one of two things: it is either the symbol for the locality, namely a temple (the usual way of indicating such edifices in reliefs and in early painting), or it may be the *meta*, the winning-post, to indicate the nature of the victory of the fully-draped figure before her. For while on relief No. 16 the figure is nude, on No. 9 the figure is in the armour of a warrior, and on No. 8 there is a figure on horseback. The figure on the relief in question, in which a whole chariot group would have been too elaborate, is fully draped, as were charioteers. This relief then can in no way be looked upon as evidence in favour of the pillar.

But there are still more final and conclusive arguments against this assumption, even if our feeling for the character of the art of Pheidias did not oppose itself to the admission of such an accessory in one of his greatest works. Kavvadias has preceded me in pointing to the conclusive fact, that, if there had been reliefs on this pillar, the ancient authors who described the statue would have mentioned them. Wherever there was a bare space this work was decorated with reliefs or paintings: the base was decorated with the birth of Pandora, the outside of the shield with the battle between Greeks and Amazons, and the inside with the battle between giants and gods. The very soles of her sandals had on their edges reliefs of a battle between Greeks and Centaurs. Is it likely that a bare surface of a column, which in the original must have been at least 12 or 15 feet in height, was left unadorned when, in this statue as well as in that of Zeus at Olympia, every accessory surface was used to heighten the brilliancy of the whole work by means of some smaller decoration? Finally the fact must be borne in mind that the column in question is not Greek, but is of a very late Roman type and therefore conclusively shows, clumsy as it is, that it was a clumsy interpolation of the craftsman copyist.

The column is in truth one of the very common additions made to statues when copied in marble from bronze or other material. It is an important fact in Greek art, to which attention has not yet sufficiently been drawn, that in the great period of Greek sculpture preceding the age of Alexander the Great, marble was not the material used for superior works: it was chiefly used for architectural sculpture, and was considered a lower material.

For the great works, gold and ivory or bronze were the proper material: gold and ivory for the great temple statues, exceptionally bronze; bronze for the great out-of-door statues, more especially for those in honour of athletic victors. It was chiefly through Praxiteles, who was the first great sculptor in marble and used it habitually[1], that marble became also the material for great works of sculpture not decorative. But even with him we find that of one of his less famous works, which has recently been restored to us, the Hermes with the infant Dionysus in the Heraion of Olympia, Pausanias makes but slight mention, though he describes fully a series of gold and ivory statues in this temple: it being merely the "stone Hermes with the infant Dionysus by Praxiteles[2]."

When in the late copying schools working for the Roman market the ancient Greek chryselephantine and bronze statues were copied in marble, supports and tree stems, which were not necessary and are not found in the bronze originals, were introduced into the marble copies where they are needed to give stability and firmness to the work. Such is the case in almost all marble statues of athletes (Myron's Discobolos, the replicas of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, &c.) when compared with extant bronzes. With Praxiteles these supports had not yet gained their own right of existence as supports, they were not introduced as evident supports of the marble work to be ignored by the spectator of the athlete or god. And so they are made to play some part in the general composition: the Hermes is resting his arm with the child upon the tree-stem, and his drapery is suspended from it, and partly hides it; the Faun is resting against it, weary of his rapid chase through the woods; the Apollo Sauroktonos is leaning over it watching the lizard whom he is to spear; the Cnidian Aphrodite takes her drapery from the ground and this becomes the support in the marble. In later works, however, and in the copies, these supports have no meaning, and are an open protest on the part of the artist against the imperfection of his material, and an admission of his

[1] *SQ.* 1287, 1288, 1289 (Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 69, XXXVI. 20, VII. 127). Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior et clarior fuit....Praxiteles aetatem inter statuarios diximus, qui marmoris gloria superavit etiam semet....Praxiteles marmore nobilitatus est.

[2] I. 20. 1. Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δέ ἐστι Πραξιτέλους.

incapacity. This is the history of the introduction of the column into this Roman copy. In the larger marble copies, of which a number have been identified, the marble workers did not attempt to represent the arm with the Nike because their material would not allow them to do so; yet most have had the good taste to avoid the introduction of such a pillar.

Surely Pheidias did not arbitrarily adorn his composition with the introduction of this unnecessary pillar, and as for the evidence of the statuette, we might as well consider the rock-like projection which supports the hand of the Lenormant statuette to be a proof that a similar projection was attached to the gold and ivory statue of Pheidias. It would surely be more in keeping with his art than a late Roman column.

But the very nature of the chryselephantine statues has been brought forward as a reason for assuming the introduction of the pillar; for it has been supposed that the outstretched hand could not hold a heavy Nike without some support.

But there is no reason to believe that the Nike though 6 ft. in height was of great relative weight. There is no reason to believe that Pheidias had waged war against common sense and did not endeavour to make this figure of as light a weight as possible. Furthermore there are no grounds for assuming that chryselephantine statues were in greater need of support for the extending portions of the composition than are marble statues. On the contrary, the nature of their construction was such that all the advantages of mechanics could be applied without any disturbance to the artistic effect of the visible surface. It has always been assumed that the gold and ivory statues consisted of a core of wood round which the thin plates of gold were laid for the drapery, and layers of ivory, made pliable by some process, were fixed for the nude parts of the body and face. But there can be no doubt in my mind that, as Quatremère de Quincy[1] has supposed, the interior of these statues was provided with a complete frame-work of metal bars, one massive one, or, more probably a wooden mast, running through the centre and well fixed in the basis. From the centre bar smaller ones branched out following the main lines of the limbs of the figure

[1] See *Jupiter Olympien*, Plates IX and X.

and the general attitude. This would correspond to what in modern times is called by sculptors "putting up the irons." Nay, as is evident from the passage in Lucian's *Gallus* quoted as a motto to this essay, the interior of these colossal statues was a structure composed of bars, masonry and woodwork which would require the skill of an architect, mechanic and engineer. That these statues were provided with a strong central bar of metal or mast-like beam of wood fixed in the base and running up the whole height of the statue, from which the thinner cross-bars, clamps, and chains branched out, is finally shown by the fact mentioned by Boetticher (*Tektonik*, II. p. 409) and quoted by Schreiber, that in the centre of the masonry of the base upon which stood the Athene Parthenos there is now to be seen a cavity 0·86 m. (2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.) in length by 0·56 m. (1 ft. 10 in.) in width in which no doubt the great central beam was fixed.

Now, if we assume, as we must, that the Nike was constructed so as to be of the lightest weight with the thinnest frame of network and thin plates of gold, perhaps without any core of wood, but merely wire network to give firmness to the plate, then it would be an easy task to accommodate the mechanical arrangements of the frame-work of the statue of the Athene so as to bear the stress of the Nike on an extended fore-arm. I have consulted authorities in matters of mechanics and they assure me that according to these laws the Nike could well be supported without a pillar. This could best be done if from one point in the central beam of the statue a weight were connected on the left side of the statue and running through this central point it were joined to the right hand upholding the Nike. This weight on the left of the statue would have to correspond to the weight of the Nike. This arrangement moreover would give additional firmness to the whole statue, inasmuch as it would put additional weight on the central axis, the bars or chains connecting the weight on the left with the hand on the right acting as stays or supports to the perpendicular column in the centre. The passages[1] concerning the portrait of Pheidias on the shield of the

[1] *SQ.* 669 to 672 (Aristot. *De Mundo*, 6, p. 399 B; Cic. *Orator* 71. 234; Valer. Maxim. VIII. 1. 46; Apul. *de Mundo*, 32; Ampel. *Lib. Memorial.* 8).

Athene Parthenos, in Aristotle, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Apuleius and Ampelius, which, despite the positiveness of the statement and the critical value of the authors, have at first been considered a puzzle and then been discarded as a myth, now become intelligible. We learn from these that, by a mechanical contrivance, the statue was so built up that if anybody attempted to tear the portrait of Pheidias out of the shield (in the left of the statue) the whole work would perish, the statue would fall to pieces. No doubt in the shield on the left hand was the weight or power which, passing through the centre, supported the right arm and gave equilibrium to the whole statue.

If it would appear that this is attributing too much knowledge of mechanics to the ancient Greeks, I would remind the reader of the fact that to construct a figure of over 30 feet in height in itself demands a careful study of the laws of mechanics. And I would but point to the Apollo in the Temple at Miletus by Kanachos of Sikyon as a work previous to the time of Pheidias, and to the Colossus of Rhodes by Chares of Lindos as an instance of a later work. Both these statues were colossal in dimensions, the latter 105 feet in height. Of the Milesian Apollo Pliny[1] says that the deer which he held on his outstretched hand was by some contrivance moveable; while the wonderful stories that are told about the easiness with which the Rhodian Colossos could be moved at least point to some application of mechanical art.

It need hardly be said that the exterior of these great statues revealed none of the signs of the careful and sober work in the construction of the interior, as little as the extant marbles from the Parthenon remind the unprejudiced spectator of all the study of proportion, the minute considerations of the conditions of lighting, and the long manual labour in producing their surface. The fully finished core of wood was provided with its golden garment, as in fact the gold and ivory statues are a normal development of the ancient wooden statues (*ξόανα*) which in earlier times were draped with the rich garments offered them. But in the

[1] *N. H.* XXXIV. 75. Canachus Apollinem nudum qui Philesius cognominatur in Didymaeo Aeginetica aeris temperatura, cervomque una ita vestigiis suspendit ut linum supter pedes trahatur, alterno morsu calce digitisque retinentibus solum, ita vertebrato dente utrisque partibus ut a repulsu per vicis resiliat.

time of Pheidias the drapery of imperishable material has become an essential part of the work of art and lends itself to produce the most brilliant effect upon the senses of the spectator. These great works, such as the Athene Parthenos and especially the Olympian Zeus, were microcosms of art. Not only by means of the dimensions which called for the skill of architects to construct them and by the harmony maintained in these colossal dimensions, but by all that appeals to the eye (both colour and form), did these works produce their grand effects. Every available space was filled with reliefs or with paintings, and by means of beautiful enamels on the garment and over the gold surface colour was added to form. We can hardly realise the world of art that was united in an Olympian Zeus. The king of gods, 42 feet in height, was seated upon a throne, a marvel of construction and decoration, his sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and, no doubt, adorned with enamels, in his left hand, and on his right hand the goddess of victory, Nike. The left arm and shoulder and the lower part of the body were covered with the golden drapery ornamented with enamels, the olive wreath crowning his head was of gold with green enamel. The legs of the colossal throne were ornamented with statues or reliefs of Victory, the barrier surrounding the throne and the beams joining the legs of the throne presented large spaces and smaller friezes which were ornamented with paintings by Panainos the brother or nephew of Pheidias, and by statues and reliefs representing the various games and mythological scenes such as the battles of Theseus and Herakles against the Barbarians, and the story of Niobe. Above on the back of the throne about the head of Zeus were the Seasons and Graces. The footstool was supported by crouching lions and the border was decorated with an Amazonomachia. The base (or, according to some, the barrier) was decorated with a scene representing the birth of Aphrodite from the sea in the presence of the gods, the whole scene bounded by the rising Helios and the descending Selene. This mere enumeration will give a faint idea of the splendour of the work of which each ornament was colossal in dimensions.

If now we turn to the outer appearance of these gold and ivory statues as such, I have no doubt that there are many readers for whom it will be impossible to form a just appreciation

of the effect of these works, and who will feel more or less pronouncedly that there is something "barbarous" in the use of such materials. I must confess that there was a time when I was incapable of duly conceiving of and appreciating sculpture in such material. It is partly the same attitude of mind which makes us at first shrink from the idea of polychromy in sculpture and architecture. But the reasons for our repugnance, or rather prejudice, against statues made of gold and ivory, or of marble statues with encaustic painting, or of marble edifices in part picked out with colour, are merely subjective in nature, that is, they arise from a peculiar frame of mind affected in its artistic appreciation by circumstances and surrounding conditions not essentially of an artistic nature.

The reason that led the Greeks to use material like gold and ivory in sculpture, and to apply polychromy to statues and edifices, was not primarily the desire to make these works of art more realistic, but simply the desire to add the pleasure of colour and the harmony of varied texture to the pleasure of form.

There are two main subjective reasons why we are predisposed to shrink from gold and ivory statues as a shock to our artistic taste. The first is concerned with the material itself, the second with the composition of materials as such. The first is entirely subjective and unjustified, and must simply be called prejudice; the second, though subjective, has still some justification in its bearing upon what might be called a principle of aesthetics.

We are predisposed to look upon gold and ivory as a material unsuited for works of art because of the economical and mercenary tone of our mind. The market value of things is ready to obtrude itself upon our attention, engrossing our capacity in judging of objects to the exclusion of all other attributes[1]. This is so to a greater degree with some objects than with others; yet it is especially the case when these objects in any way connote value. Whether it be morally advantageous or no, whether it mark a higher stage in social development or not, the fact remains that the leading thought and feeling which floats through our social world, saturates the mind of nations

[1] See Essay I. p. 18.

and individuals, and stamps its seal upon their character, whether passively perceptive or actively creative, is the realisation of the necessity, power, and moral justification, of the economical struggle. If art was the characteristic great reality of Greek mind, empire and civil organisation of the Roman world, faith and chivalry of the mediæval world, then economical struggle, with its ensuing relation of man to man, is the most characteristic feature of modern life. This feeling of the reality of the struggle for economical existence affects the tone of mind and the attitude with which modern man regards things, even in those persons, who, possessed of great wealth, may never have immediately realised by means of needs and efforts what this struggle really is.

Therefore a statue greatly composed of gold (itself the unit of money value) either so strongly suggests to those of smaller artistic appreciativeness the idea of the market value of the material that there is no room left for the impression of the artistic effect by means of the form which the material has taken; or the obtrusive association with money-value produces in others the effect of showiness and vulgar display which are not artistic qualities and equally counteract artistic illusion. But to the Greeks who, in those days, were not essentially economical but primarily artistic in their tone of mind, gold and ivory, when once part of a work of art, did not evoke these anti-artistic associations. To them gold and ivory were simply (as they decidedly are) most beautiful materials, both in colour and texture; the one more brilliant than bronze, the other softer than marble.

A further purely subjective reason why we are prejudiced against chryselephantine statues and polychrome sculpture and architecture is the unconscious association of such works with modern works of false material and cheap manufacture. This, I have no doubt, is the most potent unconscious association which makes us unappreciative of these forms of ancient art. The statuettes, jewels, boxes and toys that are manufactured at Birmingham, Nürnberg, and elsewhere, are, in contradistinction to solid hand-work, generally gilt or thickly laid with bright colours. Cheap and vulgar statuettes of plaster that try to look like bronze or marble, flowers that are not real,

houses not of stone but with a front of stucco, common deal which means to look like oak or walnut, are all painted. Because of this imitation manufacture we have been driven to assert the realness and genuineness of work and material by leaving the material so far unadorned that it can clearly assert its own noble lineage, and by constant experience we have been led invariably to associate painted and thinly plated works with baseness of material and all the offensiveness of falsehood. A statue covered with something, whatever it be, or painted, an edifice tinted with red and blue and gold, invariably call forth an ugly and formless sprite lurking beneath and just peering over our consciousness, the petty monster of the vulgarity of sham who lords it over the works of modern Nürnberg and Birmingham. But these associations did not exist for the ancient Greeks, nor is there any reason why they should with us exclude from the pleasing forms of sculpture and architecture the pleasing harmony of colour. In the marble Academy of modern Athens the Viennese architect Hensen has introduced polychromy into the capitals and the frieze, and some successful attempts at tinting marble statues have shown that the nobility of the material will ever shine through the colour and produces an essentially different effect from plaster or any other common material coated with colour. But, as I have said before, it must be borne in mind that the primary aim of the Greeks in colouring their statues was not to heighten the reality of the work of art to such a degree that it almost appears like the thing in nature: they never mistook deception for artistic illusion. Their aim was simply to add beauty of colour to beauty of form.

The last subjective reason which leads us to oppose the idea of gold and ivory statues, a reason which, as I have said, has some justification on aesthetic principles, lies in the fact that a duality of material counteracts in us the effect of the unity of an artistic organism. The two different materials suggest to us the fact of the work having been put together, and, as has been stated in a previous essay[1], a work of art is imperfect when it suggests to us the mechanism of its construction. In the former case it was chiefly through the want of technical

[1] Essay II. p. 41 seq. and note B.

skill that we were reminded of the material. In this case as in the case of mosaics, however perfect they may be (unless we are at a sufficient distance that they appear like paintings and then aesthetically they come under the head of paintings), the complexity of the material of construction would again counteract the pure illusion of form.

But we must bear in mind the highly praised perfection of the gold and ivory technique of a Pheidias, who no doubt diminished to a minimum the possibility of the obtrusion of such an association: and that these two materials correspond to the great division of the two simple textures that we are experienced to see in human figures in life, namely, drapery and nude. Without suggesting any actual individual being, the ivory neck and arm must have risen out of the golden drapery so organically and naturally that not for one moment did the two-fold nature of the material obtrude itself upon the harmony of the whole composition.

If gold and ivory are looked upon as the two most beautiful materials of their kind, both in colour and texture, and simply as this, we can well imagine how they must have added to the effect of the wonderful human form into which the artistic genius of Pheidias put them. Nor would the reflective power of gold dazzle the eyes and harshly reflect the light as it does when such a statue is placed in the open air, for the modified light in the interior of the Parthenon mellowed and toned down the brilliancy of this material. The *νάος* of the Parthenon, in which the Athene stood, received its light, as the hypæthral temples of antiquity did, through an aperture in the roof, the *ὀπαῖον*. The statue did not stand immediately under this opening and thus did not receive the full glare of light[1].

If I before pointed to the value of the material gold as an association which in our mind made it impossible for us to appreciate the artistic effect of the chryselephantine statues, and

[1] Since this was written Mr Fergusson's book *The Parthenon*, in which the question of the lighting of Greek temples is dealt with, has appeared. He holds that Greek temples were lighted by clerestories (*ὀπαῖα*). He has made a large model of the Parthenon and has placed in it a statue of Athene. I have had the good fortune to see his model. The light which is thrown upon the statue by his method, is most perfect. It falls chiefly upon face, neck and arm (the ivory parts) and leaves the golden drapery in a softer half light.

asserted that this disturbing influence was not present to the minds of the Greeks, I did not mean to infer that they ignored entirely the costliness of the material. On the contrary the value of the material played a distinct part in the effectiveness of the whole work; but it was not for its own sake, and still less to the subordination or the diminution of the artistic qualities of the work itself. In such a sublime artistic composition the costliness and brilliancy of the material, so long as they have not the power to attract attention for their own sake, heighten the spiritual qualities of the work, just as, to use a trite simile, luxury and wealth of surroundings heighten the festive character of a social entertainment, provided the social tone is sufficiently strong and refined to make the brilliant surroundings merely accessory: but they become depressing and offensive when obtruding themselves so that they contrast with the poverty of the social spirit. It is this subtle line which makes the difference: if the part which the material plays in the effect upon the senses of the spectator is relatively inferior, if the value of the material is but "sub-conscious," it heightens the impressiveness of the artistic work; so soon as the value of the material takes a foremost position in our attention and appreciativeness it is to the destruction of the artistic effect.

The reasons why the associations which are derogatory to artistic effect in chryselephantine statues did not prevail with the Greeks as they commonly would with us is not only to be found in the fact that the Greeks were not of so essentially and supremely an economical cast of mind as is our age, but to a great extent also in the largeness and mightiness of the art of Pheidias. If monumental material like marble and bronze demand greatness in the subject and its treatment, then material so weighty in its quality as gold is demands a still more powerful artistic production in order that the form might sustain the burden of the material and not be crushed by that which, though it be only the material, has in itself so many attributes which have the power on their own account to call forth intellectual associations. It is a great triumph for the art of Pheidias, and may bring home to us the grandeur of its character, that for those who gazed upon the work he forced gold and ivory to be a mere servile material bearing (itself unnoticed) the forms of his gods.

None of the numerous writers on the Olympian Zeus and the Athene Parthenos dwell upon the brilliancy of the material for its own sake when they praise the work of art. And this speaks the more strongly when we bear in mind that in the case of the Athene Parthenos such associations lay so near; for the gold of the statue could be taken off[1], and could be used as money by the State in case of emergency, provided it was restored when the urgency no longer existed.

If once we are freed from these associations that would cling to the material and can feel without prejudice and open ourselves out to the simple qualities of these materials, so beautiful in tone and texture; if we can imagine ourselves entering the sacred and graceful temples at Olympia and on the Acropolis, and before us, while we are in the dark and alone, one overpowering image over forty feet in height, the drapery of pure gold, face, neck, and arms of soft ivory, a world of colour and of form in the enamels and reliefs of the accessories, and all this brilliancy shrinking into the background of our consciousness through the overpowering majesty of the spiritual beauty which they make visible, the brilliancy making us falter, the dimensions making us small, and the harmony and beauty lifting us up to admiration and to devotion—we shall then no longer be prejudiced against this form of art, we shall perhaps faintly realise what splendour and what grace dwelt in the art of Pheidias.

[1] Thucyd. II. 13.

ESSAY IX.

THE SCHOOL OF PHEIDIAS AND THE ATTIC SEPULCHRAL RELIEFS.

Κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται.

Offering up their lives collectively, they have each one gained glory which will never die, a sepulchre most illustrious: not that wherein their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is treasured to be ever refreshed by every incident, either of word or deed, that stirs its remembrance. For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre: it is not only the inscription on the sepulchral slabs in their homes that records their fame, but even in a country where they were unknown, an unwritten memorial dwells in the heart of every one more durable than material monuments.

Funeral Oration by Pericles, THUCYD. II. 43. 2.

ESSAY IX.

THE SCHOOL OF PHEIDIAS AND THE ATTIC SEPULCHRAL RELIEFS.

THE most difficult task in dealing with the subject of the present essay has been the absolute necessity of limiting the range of inquiry. The study of the history of Greek reliefs is on the one hand so attractive to the student, and on the other hand so diffuse in the data of investigation, that the temptation to wander further and further in inquiry is proportionate to the difficulty of arriving at a completely satisfactory end and to the necessity of enlarging the investigation from record to record and from monument to monument. I have thus found it necessary to premise a definite statement of the limitations which I have found it necessary to put to this inquiry and my reasons for so doing.

In the course of examining the relation which certain Attic sepulchral reliefs held to the frieze of the Parthenon, I arrived at the conclusion that, though in special instances similarities between some of these reliefs and the Parthenon frieze had been noticed, the tendency existed to assign these reliefs too readily to the middle of the fourth century before our era instead of bringing them into the range of the direct influence of Pheidias, and I also felt that this direct and continuous influence of Pheidiac relief-technique upon these works in general had not been stated with sufficient clearness nor traced with sufficient definiteness. But from studying a certain number of these Attic reliefs I was led on to study, as far as was possible, the whole of this interesting class of works, and I became impressed with the fact that they in themselves presented an unbroken series, illustrating by this one technique and this one group of

monuments, in the clearest and most instructive manner, the continuous development of Greek art through the successive periods and the several schools. At last I found myself driven to investigate the question of the origin and development of the relief-technique as such.

This work has grown under my hands to such a degree, that it tended more and more to assume the form of a monograph on Greek Reliefs, and it became evident that it would thus manifestly be out of proportion with the remaining essays of this book. The need of restriction within narrow limits thus became imperative.

At the same time I heard of the great work undertaken for the Academy of Sciences of Vienna by Prof. Conze which, according to his statement, already consists of between two and three thousand instances; and I felt that, for the present, this would make any other general work on the subject, if not superfluous, at least premature. I also realised the numerous difficult problems to which such an investigation necessarily leads when I read Prof. Conze's preliminary article[1] on Greek Reliefs.

Thus from all sides the necessity was pressed upon me of limiting the scope of this essay to the illustration of the general proposition, that the highest development of Attic sepulchral reliefs was immediately due to the influence of the art of Pheidias as manifested in the frieze of the Parthenon, and of avoiding the tempting incursions into the field of inquiry concerning the general history of Greek reliefs.

Still I cannot refrain from offering a few remarks concerning Prof. Conze's views as laid down in his preliminary article, less with a view to direct criticism, than for the purpose of recalling some of the negative instances which, I believe, ought to be taken into account before accepting several of his general conclusions.

It has been stated before[2] that the relief is neither pure sculpture nor pure painting; but that it stands on the borderline between these two arts, partaking of the character of both. Still the question necessarily arises as to the exact proportion of

[1] A. Conze, *Ueber das Relief bei den Griechen. Sitzungsber. d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1882, pp. 563, *seq.*

[2] Essay I., p. 32 and note 1; Essay II., p. 80; see also Essay II., p. 77.

the part played by the two arts of whose character the relief partakes. I believe that it is commonly held that of the two (sculpture and painting) sculpture, both as to the manipulation of the material and as to the application of the principles governing the subjects represented and their character, preponderates in the relief work, and it appears to me that the common view is the correct one. One chief point, I take it, in Prof. Conze's article, is to vindicate the claims of the pictorial element in relief sculpture from the neglect and abuse which it has suffered at the hands of art-critics and archaeologists.

The word pictorial (*malerisch*) has been applied so hastily as an expression of derogation to works of Greek sculpture, especially to works in relief, and the introduction of pictorial elements into sculptured relief has been ascribed to the decline of Greek art under Roman influence with such unwarranted readiness, that Prof. Conze is to a great extent justified in opposing himself to this exaggeration. I feel, however, tempted to hazard the conjecture that there may be a certain amount of *Tendenz* in his article, namely, the more or less conscious desire of rescuing from slander the newly-acquired reliefs from the Altar at Pergamon now under his care in the Museum of Berlin.

Prof. Conze has no doubt shown that reliefs decidedly pictorial in character already existed in the Hellenistic period, in the third and second centuries before our era, and are not the product of Roman art. He further endeavours to show that, as regards the relief in stone, the technical working of the material naturally leads towards a pictorial treatment; that historically painting and sculpture were not completely severed, even in the earliest times, and that thus the natural development of relief sculpture points towards painting. He also suggests, it appears to me, that the predominance of such a pictorial element does not necessarily imply a degeneration of relief-work. Though I agree with much that is said by Prof. Conze, there are certain points on which I have been led to different conclusions, and there are others which, though I feel inclined to accept them, must still be strengthened against the negative instances which can be advanced.

As regards the influence of the material itself and its peculiar manipulation in the case of relief in stone (the most important

and prevalent class of relief sculpture), Prof. Conze finds a pictorial predisposition in this very working of the material among the ancients, namely, in the custom of working inwards from the outer plane of the unhewn slab, leading to the creation of several planes in the same relief, and this produces the semblance of perspective which is a distinctive feature of pictorial art. He maintains with others, that the general difference between ancient and modern relief work is to be found in the fact that, whereas the modern sculptor begins his model for the relief with a slate or panel upon which he adds the clay or wax he is modelling and thus has the background of the relief as the fixed and unaltering plane in all stages of his work, the ancient sculptor is supposed to have at once incised his outline upon the smoothed surface of his stone and to have proceeded at once to work inwards clearing away the material round about this outline. The difference between the two would thus be, that, whereas the modern sculptor has as the standing plane the background of his relief which remains the same throughout, while the material prescribes no limit as to the height of the relief; the ancient sculptor had the utmost height of relief as the given limit, which of necessity remained the same, while the background was not thus limited and varied in depth.

But the question must be asked, does this really characterise the fundamental difference between the relief-work of modern sculptors and those of ancient Hellas? It implies that, in the first place, the Greek sculptor did not follow the custom of the modern artist in modelling in clay or wax before he worked in stone; and, in the second place, that works in relief which implied the principles of modern relief-work were not usual in antiquity. Against this it must be urged that, though there is no direct and definite statement to the effect that artists made models in clay or plaster *of the actual size* of the marble work before the time of Pasiteles[1] (about 80 B.C.), there is ample evidence to show that modelling in clay was used as a preparation to sculpture, and it is highly probable that the usual custom was to model at least a sketch of the work in clay before executing it in marble. In the

[1] Plin. *N. H.* XXXV. 156. Laudat et Pasitelen, qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus his summus, nihil umquam fecit antequam finxit.

time of Lysippus (the age of Alexander the Great) we hear of the invention of Lysistratus of taking plaster casts from the actual faces of men, and Pliny tells us that the practice of taking casts grew to such an extent that no statues were made without a previous clay model[1]. The art of modelling in clay and of making ornamented tiles goes back to the earliest times and is more especially associated with the name of the Corinthian Butades, and it was rightly felt by the ancients that this art preceded the art of sculpture in stone or metal[2]. The simple fact that there could be no casting in bronze (an art which goes back to Theodoros and Rhoikos) without some preliminary model in wax or clay must show us how important actual modelling (in the restricted sense of the term) was in the establishment of all forms of plastic art.

Actually existing monuments show us how the principle of *adding* on to a fixed background must have been prevalent in antiquity. These are the well-known terra-cotta plaques with the background stamped out, of the type of the "Melian" terra-cottas, which were no doubt fixed as ornaments to a back-ground of some other material, just as in works of the class of the Chest of Kypselos the reliefs in the actual wood were variegated with *appliqué* reliefs in ivory and gold. Nay even in actual stone we have an instance (unheard of in modern times) of attaching marble figures in relief to a background of different stone, in the case of the frieze of the Erechtheion, of which not only the fragments of the relief and the traces of the means by which they were attached are extant, but even an inscription enumerating the prices paid to the various artists for single

[1] *N. H.* XXXV. 153. Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius frater Lysippi, de quo diximus. Hic et similitudines reddere instituit; ante eum quam pulcherrimas facere studebant. Idem et de signis effigies exprimere invenit, crevitque res in tantum ut nulla signa statuaeve sine argilla fierent.

[2] Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 35. Similitudines exprimendi quae prima fuerit origo, in ea quam plasticen Graeci vocant dici convenientius erit; etenim prior quam statuaria fuit. XXXV. 153. quo adparet antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi aeris.

Urlichs, *Chrestomathia Pliniana*, p. 375, places this latter passage after "Italiae traditam plasticen" in § 152. Perhaps this, together with the passage immediately preceding it (ending "sine argilla fierent"), ought to follow "plastae appellati" at the end of § 152.

figures making up this relief[1]. All these facts must be taken into account before we admit Prof. Conze's definition of the essential characteristics of Greek relief-work.

The difference of style in relief, Prof. Conze holds, is caused by the difference of the material. The two principal materials used by the ancients, he maintains, are metal and stone. In the style of relief which these two materials produce they stand opposed to one another; the metal *repoussé* relief elevating the relief itself out of the ground, the stone relief causing the elevation of the relief by the sinking of the background. The relief in stone, moreover, presents us with the largest number of monuments and may be said to typify Greek relief. Now, of the various classes of reliefs in stone he singles out a class of low reliefs, almost outline-incisions, typified by a fourth century relief from the Peiraeus and now in a private collection at Athens with the Inscription Glaukias and Eubule[2]. In this class of reliefs he sees the young germ of all the later development of Greek relief-style. It is the simplest process of the relief *en creux* reminding us, he holds, throughout of drawing and painting as practised on early Greek vases. As in these the outlines of the figures are carefully drawn or scratched, and the ground round about them is filled in with the black patina, so in the early reliefs this graphic method is applied in that the outline is incised and the background round about is carried away and sunk. Thus the chief characteristics of this style of work which leads to all the later and higher developments are, he believes, immediately taken from pictorial art.

The embryonic and early forms of Greek relief are held to manifest the principles of drawing on the flat, which are those of the simplest forms of pictorial art.

Against this I would urge that both historically and intrinsically there is much evidence pointing in an opposite direction. The earliest form of relief in Greece does not, it appears to me, coincide with this method of flat outline incision. High reliefs with actual under-cutting or a tendency towards it seem to me to be earlier, and to prevail equally with the class of work which Prof. Conze supposes to contain the germs of

[1] See Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, &c. Leipzig, 1872, Plates I. to V., pp. 1, *seq.*

[2] *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad d. Wissenschaft. zu Berlin*, 1882, Plate IX.

the typical development of Greek relief-technique. The class, like the individual instance he quotes, seems to me to form a peculiar side-development of comparatively later times. They illustrate what I should like to call the *epigraphic* style of relief, inasmuch as this form of work appears most frequently on small reliefs surmounting inscriptions which were thus modified by the habitual craft of the artist or artisan whose chief occupation was the cutting of letters. We shall come across some instances of this peculiar work in the course of this essay. Suffice it to say, that the peculiarities considered by Prof. Conze to be typical of the earliest Greek reliefs appear to me to be the result of a more or less accidental branch of the main occupation of Greek sculptors.

The pure relief *en creux*, I agree with him, is more imbued with the spirit of the graphic than of the plastic arts. But to find this we must turn to Egypt. The sunk, incuse, forms of stone work we meet with on Egyptian sarcophagi are decidedly inspired by the desire to make the most lasting form of picture-writing in stone. In Greece, on the other hand, it appears to me, the feeling for the *round* is the most manifest feature in all the attempts at relief on the part of the early artist; as I also believe that sculpture in the round preceded the other forms of plastic art. And this is not only the case with such works, almost in *alto relievo*, as the rude Boeotian monument of Dermis and Kitilos from Tanagra[1]; but even in the well-known slabs of very low relief, like the stele of Aristion at Athens. However flat the relief, there is always an attempt at producing by means of the modelling the actual appearance of roundness, and the awkwardness of these earlier low reliefs is due to the unsuccessful attempt at modifying the flat treatment so as to overcome the traditions which sculpture in the round has fixed in the constructive imagination of the artist. This is especially so in any cases where a side or profile view is given in relief. And the technique which has been dominant in giving the characteristic direction to the general impulse of the artist who attempts relief is neither metal-work nor stone-work, but the older craft of modelling in wax and clay which preceded the other forms of sculpture, the *mater caelaturae et statuariae*. But this brings us

[1] *Mittheilungen d. deutsch. Arch. Instit.* 1878. Pl. XIV.

to the more general question of the relation which painting and sculpture hold to the relief.

Prof. Conze rightly insists upon the close connexion between painting and relief in early Greek art, and he reminds us of the fact that in sepulchral reliefs the slabs are sometimes decorated with relief, sometimes (as in works of the class of the Lyseas stele) with painting, and often with both. He is no doubt right in maintaining that in ancient Greece these two arts were never so absolutely severed as they have become in modern times. And I believe that he is also right in tracing a gradual growth of a greater heed paid to principles chiefly pictorial as we proceed from the fifth through the fourth to the third century before our era. Yet I cannot agree with him in considering this modification to be peculiar to the history of relief. It is a feature which characterises the history of the whole of Greek art.

If we view the development of Greek art in the broadest manner, contrasting Greek art as a whole with modern art as a whole, I think all archaeologists, and Prof. Conze foremost among them, will agree that Greek art is plastic or sculpturesque in character, while modern art is more pictorial or picturesque in character. And this plastic character will be manifest in Greek paintings when they are contrasted with modern paintings, as the picturesque character of modern sculpture becomes apparent when it is compared with ancient sculpture. Yet within this broadest characterisation of Greek art as plastic when taken as a whole, we can mark various phases in which we notice comparatively a preponderance of the characteristics of some one art even in works of another art. And so we can say that in the works of archaic art, both in sculpture and in painting, there is an *architectural* stiffness. In the great age of the fifth century sculpture was most itself, and the pictorial works of a Polygnotos were no doubt too much under the influence of sculpture to manifest the freedom which belongs to painting as such. More and more painting develops and its votaries gain fame and prominence until, in the second half of the fourth century, it is equally developed with sculpture and gradually makes its preponderance felt in *all forms* of sculpture; so that in a group of the school of Tralles, the famous Farnese Bull, we meet with the endeavour to represent not only the acting figures, but even

marble rocks, the shepherd with his dog, and attempts at indicating the landscape in which Dirke is punished by Amphion and Zethos. But by this time the dramatic and sensational element has already worked its way into sculpture, and, along with the pictorial element, the groups and reliefs of the schools of Pergamon and Rhodes display scenes replete with dramatic action.

It is thus not peculiarly characteristic of relief-sculpture that it should have come under the influence of painting. However much importance one may attribute to the constructive principle in art, a close study of its history shows how the special arts have always influenced and to some extent modified each other without necessarily entailing a loss of the purity of their own nature. When Pheidias realised that the monumental works of sculpture were not all seen under the same conditions of lighting nor from the same distance or point of view, he applied in the treatment of the surfaces and the proportions of his works a principle which is more essentially a fundamental principle of the art of painting, namely, a modified form of perspective. His studies and those of other sculptors may even have paved the way for the more complete elaboration and practical application of these principles to painting by Apollodoros and the later painters. But this does not alter the fact that perspective and all it implies is peculiarly a means required for pictorial illusion, as it does not make the art of Pheidias pictorial in character or essentially predisposed to develop into the direction of painting. In relief the attempt at producing illusion corresponding to pictorial perspective is greater even than in a monument or a pedimental group seen at a great height and at a distance ; still this does not necessarily lead to 'pictorial' reliefs (that is, reliefs partaking more of the character of paintings than of works of sculpture) as a normal and necessary development of that art. In a very interesting treatise[1] it has recently been shown how different the perspective of reliefs is from the perspective of painting.

Though relief stands between sculpture and painting, the fact remains that the material used is the same as in pure

[1] Guido Hauck, *Die Grenzen zwischen Malerei und Plastik und die Gesetze des Reliefs*, &c. Berlin, 1885.

sculpture, that it does attempt to give actual volume and not merely the semblance of volume on a plane, and that light and shade are not part of the artist's work as is the case in painting, but are the influence of nature from without. The preponderance will thus necessarily lie on the side of sculpture, and its natural development will never lead it from its more or less intermediate position into a more extensive resting upon the foundations of pictorial art. The task for the true development of Greek relief was, to make use of the greater freedom it possessed over ornamental sculpture in the round, in representing more continuous scenes with greater individuality of life, and to apply the principles of perspective illusion so as to suggest roundness by an incomplete elevation ; but at the same time to maintain the principles of ornamental art in keeping with the material used, and, if applied for decorative purposes, to combine this with its share in adding to the harmonious effect of the work or structure it served to decorate. These principles have to some extent been laid down in the first two essays.

It is to Pheidias that we owe the establishment of relief in its normal development, and we can trace his direct influence in this sphere in the extant works of Attic art that have come down to us.

In the sense in which the word 'school' is applied to the followers of Ageladas, Polykleitos or Lysippos, Pheidias cannot be said to have formed a school. It is true he may have greatly influenced the artistic development of Agorakritos and perhaps also of Alkamenes ; yet they cannot be considered the representatives of his school as artists whose chief distinction it was to have handed on the torch of a great personality in its characteristic brilliancy, though reflected in a less powerful agent. Yet it is this continuity of tradition and the reproduction in all the later works of the chief characteristics of the master which constitute a school in the full sense of the term.

In literature and art the greatest genius is the one whose originality and individuality consist in the perfect health and normal development of the creative power on all sides and in all its aspects. It is the chief mark of this highest genius that his work is perfectly simple without being commonplace. His

excellence and superiority really consist in the perfection of his works on all sides from whatever aspect they are viewed, so that no one quality stands out above the others and incites to imitation. Such were Shakespeare and Goethe and Raphael and Beethoven.

When we descend one step lower to the genius, who, though great, still belongs to the second order, we find that here a certain extraordinary development of the one or the other faculty constitutes his claim to genius and that the originality approaches abnormality or even eccentricity and mannerism. Such were Byron and Heine and Rembrandt and Schumann.

Those of the first order cannot be imitated or adequately reproduced, because, to do this, one must needs be possessed of all their greatness. It is the second order which is more likely to find followers and to establish schools. The work of the highest genius affects not only a few followers, but the whole sphere of his activity: art or literature are affected by him for all time, and each worker is more or less indebted to him, has learnt from him, and, in so far, is his pupil.

Pheidias influenced the whole of Greek art that followed him, and every subsequent artist, though he may have belonged to some other school, was affected by him. But none could boast of being the inheritor of those qualities which constituted him the genius he was.

Still, we find that some one work of such a genius, in which he has introduced a new and marked form, will find its special admirers and imitators; and in such works we can perceive the more direct and immediate traces of the master's influence. This is still more the case with regard to the technical treatment, especially when numbers of young artists have been gathered round the master and have executed his designs, and when, from the nature of the surrounding circumstances, a marked and peculiar handling was introduced, such as the relief-technique of the Parthenon frieze. It is then that the master's style in definite directions becomes more fixed and traditional. The traces of the direct influence of Pheidias on his followers and on Attic art of the period succeeding him are to be found most clearly in the remains of Attic relief-work. It is here that Pheidias introduced definite innovations, that circumstances led him to adopt a peculiar mode of technical treatment, and that a large number of

assistants were trained in executing his designs. It is this influence of Pheidias upon Attic art which we shall now trace, and it is in this sense that we may use the term 'school' as applied to Attic artists succeeding him.

When we look more closely into the intimate relation which some of the Attic sepulchral reliefs hold to the works of Pheidias we must of necessity be astonished, that, though in special instances similarities between such slabs and the reliefs of Pheidias have been referred to, the establishment of a general relation has not been dwelt upon and accounted for; and that the interesting series which the sepulchral monuments present has not been systematically classified according to the main periods in the development of Greek art. For if we simply cast a rapid glance over the sequence of the works in relief in the various periods, we are struck by the continuity of development which they show. After the purely archaic and conventional reliefs there is a series of interesting works which clearly mark the period of transition from Archaic art to the full freedom of the art of Pheidias. Such works are: the interesting Aristion Stele[1]; and the two reliefs at Athens, the one representing a draped figure mounting a chariot[2], the other a small altar[3] decorated on the one side by a ram carrying Hermes, on the other a graceful female figure lifting her veil with her one hand. The two latter of these reliefs have, with more or less weight of evidence, been attributed to Kalamis, the immediate predecessor of Pheidias. In these works the archaism is chiefly to be noticed in the traces of conventionality in the treatment of the drapery, the folds of which are still too regular and symmetrical to manifest the varied flow of lines in the natural fall of drapery, while the artist has not yet mastered the task of indicating the thorough response which the drapery makes to the movements of the body that it covers. These difficulties have been overcome in the class of works with which we are concerned.

That there is an intimate relation between the inferior works of relief decoration and the works of Pheidias, not only his archi-

[1] Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plast.* Vol. I. p. 150; Lucy M. Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 218.

[2] Overbeck, *ibid.* p. 153; L. M. Mitchell, *ibid.* p. 288.

[3] Overbeck, *ibid.* p. 219; L. M. Mitchell, *ibid.* p. 289.

tectural sculpture but even his great temple statues, has been implied by archaeologists, who see in the figure of Athene on many of the smaller Attic reliefs, votive offerings, or headings to public proclamations, reproductions of the great Athene Parthenos by Pheidias. Mention has been made of these in Essay VIII. It is true these reliefs vary in style, and some of them belong to a much later period than the age of Pheidias. But it is important to bear in mind that it was customary to borrow types from Pheidias and that, in whatever awe we may hold the art of Pheidias, the ancients did not hesitate to attach to it even the most modest forms of art. I mention this to show that there is nothing bold or venturesome in connecting the humbler remains of Greek art with the school of its greatest master.

We have however among these works some[1] that can definitely be fixed to the 5th century B.C. These are reliefs surmounting public inscriptions similar to the one giving an account of the treasury of the Parthenon[2] to which attention has been drawn in Essay V. This account was made under the archonship of Glaukippos (410 B.C.) The series of these works is continued so that about ten years later, under the archonship of Laches (400 B.C.), and two years after that, under Euthykles (398 B.C.), we have similar headings to inscriptions. In the inscription in the Louvre we have the sacred olive in the centre, on the one side Athene and on the other most probably the representation of the Attic Demos. The action of the figures, Athene pointing her lance at the olive while the Demos is seizing hold of a branch, appears to me the ceremony for taking a sacred vow. The other reliefs have similar representations.

If we compare these reliefs and others of a kindred nature among each other, we find that, though they differ in dimensions and in the excellence of their execution, they all are of the same character in composition and in the types of figures represented. If we compare them with pre-Pheidiac reliefs, we perceive at a glance that they have advanced far beyond these with regard to

[1] Schöne (*Griechische Reliefs &c.*) enumerates eight such reliefs that belong to the fifth century B.C. No. 59 (Pl. XI.) he considers cannot be placed later than the Periclean age. According to the contents of the inscription, No. 50 (Pl. VIII.) is placed by Köhler in the year 428, by Kirchhoff immediately after 424 B.C.

[2] W. Froehner, *Les Inscriptions Grecques du Musée Nat. du Louvre.* Paris, 1880, p. 90.

conception and execution, in general character, attitude, modelling of the nude and of the drapery. If furthermore we compare them with reliefs succeeding the age of Pheidias, such as the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Phigalia and the still later reliefs from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, we find that they differ essentially from these in technique, and above all in the restful dignity of attitude, the simple and quiet massing of folds and the run of lines. If finally we compare them with the Parthenon frieze, the striking correspondence becomes so evident that we need but place them side by side to discover that of all Greek works the Parthenon sculptures are those to whom they are most closely related. The accompanying drawings will serve this purpose.

The figure representing the Demos on the inscription of the Louvre (Fig. 13) is immediately composed out of the several

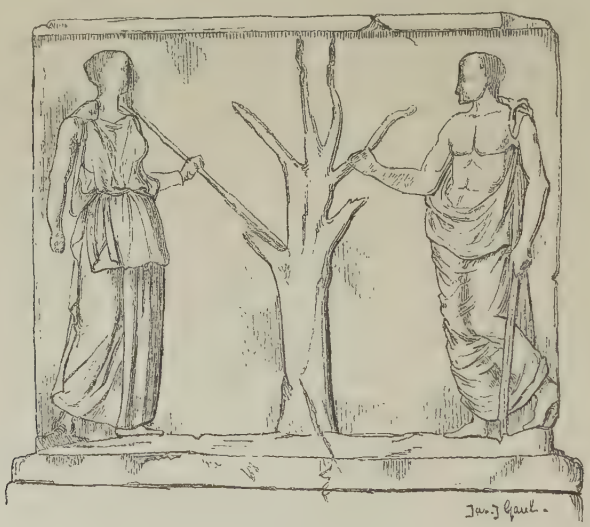

FIG. 13. Head of an Inscription, 410 B.C. (Louvre.)

characteristics of the conversing magistrates on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, however inferior to them it may be in execution. Take the attitude of No. 47 in Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, Plate XXXIV.), three-quarters *en face*, the upper part of the body undraped, the right hand extended, the peplos massed in horizontal folds across the waist, the left leg bent and dragging behind the right; see how No. 45 (Fig. 14), turned the

other way, is leaning on his staff; and see finally how even the

FIG. 14. Four Magistrates from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon.

end of the cloak is slung over the left shoulder in No. 43—and it will be evident how dependent is this inferior relief from this inscription upon the superior prototypes in the Parthenon frieze. The same holds good if we compare the Demos on the relief from the time of Euthykles (Fig. 15) with the group of the three magistrates, 43, 44, and 45 (Fig. 14) from the same frieze—nay, in Fig. 43 we have the same foldless surface indicating the outlines of thigh and calf bounded by deep curved folds running up the drapery at the ankle between the legs to the waist. The figure of Athene on the inscription under the archonship of Laches (400 B.C.)[1], though here in the end of her chiton hanging down on either side we notice the first feeble introduction of an absence of simplicity which characterises similar works of the 4th century, might in most respects be the figure of the Athene from the Parthenon frieze after she has arisen from her seat, so close is the correspondence between the two.

It is true these reliefs differ from the Parthenon frieze in one point of the relief-technique peculiar to the Pheidiac relief. Corresponding to the slightness and small dimensions of these

[1] Schöne, *ibid.* No. 54, Pl. X.

headings, as well as from the fact of their calling for very close inspection as surmounting an inscription, they are in very low relief. The outline of the figures was evidently traced upon

FIG. 15. Heading of Inscription, 398 B.C. (Athens.)

the flat surface of the stone and thereupon incised; but, differing from the Parthenon frieze, the ground was not worked away, so as to leave a strongly marked perpendicular edge, but the sculptor drove his chisel obliquely all round the figures, thus gaining for them a limited depth from which they could to some degree stand out. This peculiar modification of the technique in instances of this kind is to be attributed to the peculiar class of individual workers. The monument in question is not in the first place a work of art, but a stone inscription recording a

public proclamation. The inscription is the work and the relief is an accessory appendage. That this was really viewed so by the ancients is evident from the frequent notes in which the price of erecting the proclamation is mentioned, the charge being made only for the inscribing, whereas no mention is made of the carving. The formula used is "for the inscription" (εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφήν[1]). The carver of letters who thus decorates his inscription is strongly influenced by the peculiar technique of his chief vocation. Now the incision of letters is always practised by oblique strokes with the chisel, and thus a natural and habitual way of beginning to work on this traced outline is for such a sculptor to cut in obliquely as is here done, and not to work away from it in clearing the whole of the plane which surrounds the figures. This peculiar style I would call the *Epigraphic* style of relief-work, and to this class belongs the relief of Glaukias and Eubule published by Conze to which reference has been made above. The peculiar technique of this relief is to be referred to these circumstances, whereas we shall see that the other class of works which we shall draw into consideration reproduce even the details of Pheidiac workmanship.

I have begun with the reliefs surmounting inscriptions, not because they were the first to suggest the close relationship to Pheidiac art, but because, though they undoubtedly are dependent upon them, they happen to be fixed in date.

Among the Attic sepulchral slabs there are specimens which, decidedly not pre-Pheidiac, still point to an earlier date than the relief of 410 B.C. which we have just examined. One of the most interesting of these is a low relief slab, 0·79 metres in height by 0·37 in width, of fine Pentelic marble, in the possession of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey[2]. Though the drapery of this relief manifests a freedom of treatment and a richness of line which could only be given after the advance made by Pheidias, there is in the composition and attitude of the whole figure a certain severity, in part even awkwardness, as well as a certain want of skill in the rendering of the face in profile (especially with regard to the treatment of the eye), so that this monument must be assigned to a date earlier than the

[1] See Schöne, *ibid.* p. 19.

[2] Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 731, No. 100.

4th century, and even than the relief on the inscription fixed to 410 B.C. If we omit the fact that this figure is clad in the himation or over-garment, the simplicity of the attitude, the measured dignified walk, remind us to a certain degree of the Attic maidens walking in procession in the Parthenon frieze. The relief-technique also is that of the Parthenon frieze: the edges perpendicular to the background, the whole kept with evident care at the same fixed depth. Nay, when it is found difficult to produce the necessary depth of relief where the arm is pressed to the waist in the centre of the figure, the sculptor sinks the whole ground and produces his depth by working inwards, just as is done in the case of the charioteer in the Southern frieze of the Parthenon (Plate XI. slab XXX. in Michaelis' *Der Parthenon*), where about the shield the relief is obtained by similarly working into the ground. Though the innovations of the art of Pheidias are thus to be noticed in this work, the spirit and refinement of the master artist is not attained. The dignity and repose of the walking maidens in the frieze here passes over into severity and even awkwardness. Much nearer to these, though still somewhat severe and devoid of the perfect freedom of technical treatment, is a similar slab, of which I remember to have seen a cast in the Museum at Berlin. Though the sculptor of the Woburn slab has to some degree acquired the manipulative treatment of the drapery of Pheidias, he has not acquired the power of composition in giving a free attitude to the whole figure and in modifying the parts of the body and their relation in accordance with this peculiar attitude. Hence the clumsiness with which the figure varies between profile and *en face*, the want of drawing in the left arm, and in the attempt at indicating the muffled right. So also, though in the head we notice some reminiscence of the beautiful head of the Demeter (according to Flasch) in the Eastern frieze of the Parthenon (see Fig. 9, No. 12), the profile is managed so awkwardly, the eye is so much out of drawing, the treatment of the head as a whole is so strikingly out of proportion with the skill manifested in the technical treatment of details such as the hair and folds of the drapery, that it appears more like a caricature of the Demeter than like a copy or a reminiscence of this work. I shall endeavour to account for these discrepancies below.

We approach a great step nearer to the grace and delicacy of the head of Demeter in the well-known relief bearing the inscription 'Hegeso Proxeno' (Fig. 16). The resemblance here

FIG. 16. Sepulchral Relief inscribed 'Hegeso Proxeno'. Athens.

is more than superficial. To begin with the head-dress, we find this cap covering the knot of the hair at the back of the head (*opisthosphendone*) on this relief found in Athens, on the Parthenon frieze and on similar Attic works. There is every reason to suppose that this was a fashionable head-dress in the time to which the Parthenon frieze as well as the relief in question belong. Dr Milchhoefer tells me that a head, doubtless from an Attic sepulchral slab found at Athens and now in the possession of the Conte Baracco at Rome, also possesses the most striking correspondence to the head of the Demeter on the Parthenon frieze. That there existed such well-marked fashions in the head-dress of the ancients, especially with regard to women, a study of Roman, late and even early Greek statues, busts and paintings with this in view would immediately show. But furthermore this intimate relation between Hegeso and Demeter is carried out, not only in the general character of the head, but also in the treatment of the details, such as, for instance, the wavy line of the hair where it frees itself from its cover, the line of nose and forehead, of chin and cheek, the profile of the eye, and the straight line of the eyelid. If further we compare the drapery of Hegeso with the drapery of the Artemis seated among the gods on the other side of the centre (Fig. 9, No. 5), we discover the most complete correspondence, so great that it is physically impossible that the artist of the one should not have seen and have been influenced by the sculptor of the other. To begin with, the crease, or rather the protruding angular fold of the drapery, just below the neck, caused by the weight of the drapery held up on either side of the shoulder, massing and bulging out at the unsupported centre, is the same in both. This pleasant break of line was first introduced by Pheidias, and is to be seen at the top of the thinner under-garment in almost every one of his figures, whether of the pediment or the frieze. It is indicated in a peculiar way in the Athene of the frieze in profile, in the Artemis in three-quarter view, in the Hera and in the figures of the pediment *en face*, and in most of the sepulchral monuments that we shall consider. Starting from this fold in the centre, with which we may begin our comparison of the Hegeso with the Artemis of the frieze, if we move from the right to the left shoulders of the figures we

find that in both cases the peplos has been slung over the shoulder, leaving the arm of the Artemis free while it covers that of the Hegeso. There is a smooth and more or less foldless space indicating the contours of the breast in both cases, and below this follow the cross lines of the drapery, in many folds, covering the lap and thigh. The bare right arm with upturned hand rises above the right thigh, more extended in the case of Hegeso, while it rises to the chin of Artemis. The treatment of the folds of the drapery covering the thighs is on the same system in both cases. In both cases we also have an end of the over-garment hanging down over the side of the chair. The legs below the knee of the Artemis are partly hidden by the right leg of Apollo, yet in what remains visible we notice that in the same way as in the case of Hegeso the drapery behind the calf partly falls in straight folds down from the chair, while the part immediately affected by the foot placed forward is in greater tension and produces circular round folds passing from under the knee round the back of the calf over the front of the ankle. This class of folds is most clearly noticeable in the Venice fragment (Plate V.). If now we turn to the figure accompanying Hegeso, the servant offering to her a casket, we notice how the action of this figure has immediately been taken from the priest handing the peplos to the boy in the central slab of the frieze (Plate XII.). Though the one be a bearded man, the other a maiden, though there is less grace and movement in the figure of the maiden than of the priest, still if we compare the drapery of the one with the other we notice how the artist of the sepulchral slab who wished to represent a figure handing an object to another used, as a reminiscence, the figure performing the same action in the Parthenon frieze. We have here in both cases the same large and smooth surfaces corresponding to the peculiar class of drapery. The position of the right leg bent inwards at the knee in the priest on the frieze is awkwardly rendered in the servant on the slab. The creases thus produced at the side of the knee and those running crosswise over the ankle are reproduced from the frieze in a more clumsy manner.

If now we consult the epigraphist, we learn through G. Curtius[1] that the forms of the letters, though they may point to

[1] *Archaeolog. Zeitung*, 1872, p. 19.

the beginning of the fourth century, may also lead us back to the Peloponnesian war. We are bound to choose the alternative which is in harmony with the internal evidence of the work itself. The sculptor of the Hegeso relief when compared with the sculptor of the slab at Woburn Abbey shows himself as an artist of an essentially higher type; he has much more of the artist in him than the latter, who approaches more nearly the class of artisans. Nevertheless, however admirable be the art of the Hegeso relief the sculptor betrays himself in a few small points as not being the full master of his art. This becomes evident, not only if we compare the imperfections of the servant of the slab with the perfect ease and natural attitude of the priest on the frieze, but also if we compare the awkward pose and execution of the right fore-arm and hand of Hegeso with the natural pose and, so far as it is visible, the delicate execution of the corresponding arm and hand in the Artemis of the frieze.

FIG. 17. Sepulchral Relief of Myrtia Kephisia (Louvre).

One thing the works themselves, when placed side by side, distinctly tell us, namely, that the sepulchral slab was immediately composed out of elements contained in the Parthenon

frieze, or, that it was less consciously made up out of reminiscences of Parthenon works lingering in the memory of the sculptor.

If we go still a step further in examining sepulchral slabs we come to a sepulchral relief in the Louvre, No. 228, in the *Salle de la Sculpture Grecque Primitive* here reproduced (Fig. 17) from an imperfect sketch taken from Fröhner[1]. It was found at Athens and given to the Museum by the Vice-Admiral Massieu du Cherval in 1850. It is 0·96 m. in height by 0·60 m. in width, and is surmounted by a triangular space representing a pediment containing the inscription, Μυρτια: Κηφισια. Kephisia is seated, and her companion Myrtia is standing before her, probably holding the burning lamp in her uplifted left hand. The relief-technique of this slab with its strong straight edges is the same as that of the Parthenon frieze, though the execution is of a much ruder kind. The head, though turned the other way, is very similar in character and in the arrangement of the hair, and even in the treatment of the eye in profile, to that of the Louvre plaque; while the manner in which the head rises out of the drapery, together with the characteristic protruding fold in the centre, and the treatment of the drapery as it covers the breast, are strikingly similar in both cases. The motive of holding up a part of the cloak, though here it is merely done from the shoulder, is suggested by the Hera in the group of the Parthenon frieze, as the female figure standing beside Kephisia seems suggested by the Hebe standing beside Hera in the frieze.

If we proceed from low relief to high relief, we come upon two slabs here reproduced in outline. The one (Fig. 18) is a stele containing three figures: a seated female figure, whose hand is clasped by a younger standing maiden, while behind the seated figure is an upright bearded man resting his chin on his left hand. The other (Fig. 19) is the famous life-size relief containing a seated and an erect female figure, placed as it were within a door-way, on the lintel of which are the inscriptions Δημετρια and Παμφιλη. In the first of these two slabs, though the relief is much higher than in the Parthenon frieze, we have the same working of the edges and the same method of indicating the varied depth. There can be no doubt that both these reliefs are the work of artists of some independence, who were

[1] Fröhner. *Inscriptions Grecques du Louvre.* Paris, 1880, p. 290.

not so immediately under the sway of the Pheidiac school, so that they have introduced individual traits and sentiments into their compositions. Still even here we notice a close relation to the figures of the Parthenon frieze. So the general attitude and

Fig. 18. Sepulchral Slab, Athens.

movement of the standing maiden in the first relief (Fig. 18), as well as the fall of drapery, reminds us strongly of the fully-draped maidens forming part of the procession in the eastern frieze and the maidens carrying chairs on the central slab (Fig. 9 B.); while the head in its general outline, in the treatment of the hair, in the modelling of the eye, corresponds in its profile to the head of Athene in the Louvre plaque, and the skill with which the three-quarter view is given approaches very closely to the execution of the head of the Dionysos of the frieze (Fig. 9, No. 11). The head of the seated figure, whose hand the younger maiden clasps, represents a less perfect and fresh type, and indicates greater age, as the neck and breast are of more matronly form. But here too we have the same type as in the Parthenon frieze, the same treatment of folds, down to the peculiar crease

at the top of the undergarment, though the ugly cross-fold running from breast to breast is an unfortunate addition of the sculptor of the slab. The bearded man standing in the background we immediately recognise as typically the same as the magistrates of the frieze.

In the Demetria-Pamphile slab (Fig. 19) the artist seems wavering between two styles, and not quite resolved whether to introduce greater realism or not. So, while the seated figure is purely ideal in the type of head, the head of the standing figure is more fleshy and coarser in character. And while the treatment of the hair of the seated figure is the same as that which we

FIG. 19. Sepulchral Relief, Demetria Pamphile, Athens.

meet with in the Parthenon frieze, the hair of the standing figure manifests an entirely different system of small shell-like spirals, which, if it were not for the perfection of the technique in the rest of the figure as well as for a certain amount of irregularity and boldness even in the hair itself, would lead us to see an archaic constraint in the treatment of this hair; but as it is, it appears to me rather to manifest an attempt on the part of the sculptor to free himself from the system of modelling hair as in

the seated figure, and to try a new method of his own, which would perhaps also tend to convey a difference existing in the individuals whom he represented in the relief. We thus notice a greater dependence upon Pheidiac work in the seated figure than in the standing one. The head of this seated figure corresponds completely to what the head of the Athene would be if viewed from *en face*. Or rather, from the analogies of this existing head and what remains of the head of Hera (Fig. 9, No. 2), we should suppose that the correspondence between the head of the Hera and that of Demetria would be very striking. In other respects too the Demetria is closely related to the Hera. The motive of folding her cloak which covers her head, the turn of the figure from right to left which causes the left leg to bend inwards, and the fall of the drapery as it covers the legs and hangs down by the chair, manifest a similarity which amounts to more than coincidence. Finally the chair, or rather throne, upon which Demetria is seated is so similar to the throne of Zeus seated beside the Hera that we cannot help attaching some importance to this similarity. For there no doubt existed fashion and local custom in chairs also, and to see what a chair was like in a different country and a different age we need but compare the throne of the archaic relief of Zeus at Ince Blundell Hall, which probably came from Asia Minor[1]. But when the correspondence is so great as in this case, so that we not only have the peculiar kind of leg common to the chairs of the Parthenon frieze, but even have the sphinx supporting the arm, just as in the throne of Zeus, we must consider this to be more than a mere coincidence. It appears to me that we must see in the sculptor of this sepulchral slab an artist of some power and independence, who, though still on the whole under the influence of Pheidias, is beginning to manifest some independence, and the transition to a different phase of art in the fourth century.

I might continue to examine, describe, and compare numerous monuments of this description (such as the Monument of Dexileos[2] the date of which is fixed to 394 B.C., and the votive offerings to Asklepios, some of which F. von Duhn[3] has compared to

[1] See *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1864, Pl. A. III.; *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, Pl. V.

[2] Wescher, *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1863, p. 354.

[3] *Mittheil. d. Arch. Inst. Athen*, 1877, pp. 215 seq.

the Parthenon reliefs), which would all tend to confirm the chief conclusion to which we have been led. Yet I believe that the selection of these few typical instances will suffice to illustrate the drift of my argument, especially as it is not my intention to classify the whole number of sepulchral reliefs, but merely to point out a decided relation which exists between the artistic and technical character of a certain number of these reliefs and the reliefs of the Parthenon frieze. The result of the comparison, so far as we have gone, is to lead us to conclude that the artists of the reliefs under consideration were immediately influenced by the works which we attribute to Pheidias, and that their relation to the sculptor of the Parthenon frieze is a real one, whether we call them his followers, or consider them to have formed his school, or hold them to be individual workers strongly influenced by the art of the great master.

The question further arises: how immediate was the relation of these artists to the person of the master himself? Or, in other words, does the date of their activity admit of our considering them to have lived in his time? Or may we assume that the tradition of his school lasted for several generations? Let us put a possible case into exact figures: an apprentice seventeen or eighteen years of age works under Pheidias before his death, say about 431 B.C. In the year 400 he would be about forty-nine years of age, and for the next twenty years he may work in full vigour (though many an ancient sculptor still produced great works in his eightieth year). This brings us well into the first half of the fourth century, about 480 B.C., say the age of the sculptor Kephisodotos the elder, the father of Praxiteles. Now, in the relief heading the inscription, an inferior class of work, we have the fixed date 410 B.C., and we have sepulchral reliefs decidedly earlier than this; nay, from the fact that the sculptors of these sepulchral slabs were so far superior in artistic power to the sculptors decorating the inscription, we have reason to believe that most of the reliefs were earlier than the actually dated inscription, especially when we have such perfection of workmanship in the Parthenon sculptures themselves.

A possibility which may be advanced against this proposition is, that sculptors may for many generations after Pheidias have reproduced the technique and spirit of the Parthenon frieze

without being in any way connected with the school of Pheidias. To this I would answer: that, in the first place, it is quite contrary to the traditions which we notice in the history of Greek art that one school should continue unchanged in the same place after a great new school has established itself there. Secondly, I hold it to be almost physically impossible for a sculptor belonging to an age so essentially different in character as was the age succeeding the Peloponnesian war as compared with the age of Pericles, to reproduce in his works the spirit of the art of Pheidias. And finally, our own view is borne out when we consider the whole series of those Attic sepulchral slabs among each other. We then notice in a number containing nude youths resting opposite to bearded draped figures not only the style and technique of the art of a Praxiteles, not only the introduction of greater sentimentality into the action and pose, but even the type of youth that we have learnt to know in the famous Hermes of Olympia. We further have, in an advancing warrior with helmet and armour and flying drapery, whose eyes have that peculiar upward look, the style of a Skopas. And we finally notice that this series reaches all the way down to the clearly Roman instances, such as a relief with figures standing within a piece of distinctly Roman architecture, the erect and seated men being well-known portrait types of Romans. We are thus forced to consider those sepulchral slabs which show such evident similarity to the spirit and work of the Parthenon frieze as being immediately influenced by the art of Pheidias.

Having, through the comparison of these sepulchral reliefs with the works which we know to have been immediately inspired by Pheidias, been led to the conclusion that these Attic sepulchral slabs are the works of what we may be allowed to call the school of Pheidias, let us examine the conditions that existed during this period, so far as we apprehend them from other sources not immediately contained in the works themselves, and see whether they speak in favour of or against our conclusions. Looking at the literary and historical records concerning that period of the history of Athens let us recall to life the artistic activity of the age of Pheidias and the period immediately succeeding his death. We may say that these conditions of actual artistic life of the time will not only speak in favour of our conclusions

with regard to the sculptors of these Attic sepulchral reliefs, but would of their own accord even lead us to expect works of a similar description.

If we read over the account which authors like Plutarch give of the artistic activity at Athens during the age of Pericles, we have before our eye a picture of skilled workmen and artists of all crafts working in all kinds of material, streaming to this great centre from all parts, and carrying out the designs of Pheidias. In an incredibly short period of time numerous huge edifices and temples, containing the elaborate works of sculpture in the temple statues, were erected. Surpassing all others in beauty and the wealth of its decorations was the Parthenon, and among the decorations of this temple the frieze, running round the four sides of the *naos*, was filled with the varied designs of Pheidias, with the composition full of a new artistic life both in the grouping and the pose and modelling of each single figure; and all in a new method of relief work, the innovations of Pheidias in the technique of this form of decoration. The assistants, who were charged with executing in marble with the exactness prescribed by the technical conditions the designs of this great composition, no doubt varied very much in age, in their previous training, and with regard to the freshness with which they met the peculiar tasks set them by the master. As has been previously pointed out by writers on this subject, the frieze itself, however great on the whole be its unity of conception and execution, bears traces of the difference of the hands that worked the various parts. Among these assistants, or marble-workers, some no doubt were older men, who had previous to their employment under Pheidias been under the influence of other schools and masters, while it is most likely that the greater number would either be devoid of any style of their own or would be at once trained under the guidance of Pheidias. Yet all thus employed at these works would be strongly influenced by the character of the art and the technical manipulation applied, and from sheer force of habit, to say no more, would more or less adopt the methods of working which they followed for so long a period.

With great suddenness, stroke upon stroke, follows the dissolution of this great organisation of artistic production.

Pheidias is banished; soon after the Peloponnesian war begins; the pestilence rages in Attica; Pericles himself dies leaving the public treasury exhausted. What is the necessary result? The great public works are either suspended, or at least no new ones are begun. Now what in all countries and times will become of these hundreds of assistants or marble-workers under such circumstances? Not finding employment in the great public works, they will seek for employment elsewhere, even in the humbler forms of private commissions. One form of work that to a certain extent existed before, and for which the demand readily exists or may readily be increased by an easy supply, offers itself to the workers in marble relief. It is the decoration of graves by means of sepulchral slabs. And thus it is that during this time the relief slab becomes more and more common, and gradually increases in size and in wealth of decoration.

Now what will such an assistant or marble-worker, who has been occupied in executing designs such as the frieze of the Parthenon, do when he is ordered by some wealthy Athenian to fashion a relief slab to ornament the grave of one of his departed relations? He is not a first-class artist, not possessed of great inventive powers to create original compositions; on the other hand his eye and hand have become thoroughly familiar, have almost made their own the designs at which he had been working under Pheidias. He will thus, more or less consciously, by an act of volition or driven by instinct and habit, select some of the figures or parts of the figures, or their attitudes, or the treatment of their drapery or their hair, out of this frieze, and, adhering more or less closely to the technique which he has followed, he will make of them a new work similar in character though of humbler form, and necessarily of inferior quality, to the works in the execution of which he was trained.

When left to himself, even for the choice of the elements which he is to combine, this sculptor, half artist, half artisan, will fall back into his previous or native idiosyncrasies and imperfections, and thus in a work like the Woburn Abbey slab the artist has failed in the drawing and composition of his figure and has relapsed into a more archaic style of work in the head of his figure; as in a very few instances we notice such a relapse in details of the Parthenon frieze, and more especially in

the Metopes. Thus too the artist of the Hegeso relief failed in the drawing and modelling of the hand, thus too the Louvre slab is coarser in the general modelling, and thus the sculptor of the Demetria-Pamphile slab labours in the attempt at making a first step towards some emancipation from that school.

So, if we consider and translate into terms of human life, the actual events and social and political conditions of this period of Greek history, we are led towards conclusions with regard to the sculptors of these Attic sepulchral slabs to which the monuments themselves so clearly point, and I may here repeat what has been said once before: that, because the similarity of the human mind as it is affected by its surroundings in various ages, shows that men and their actions were affected by surrounding circumstances in remote antiquity very much as they are in our very modern times, we need not therefore assume that conclusions which point to and confirm such similarity are in so far the less founded upon fact.

These sepulchral slabs, it may finally be stated, were not without some immediate influence upon the general development of the history of Greek art, in strengthening and accelerating a tendency which we discover in the art succeeding Pheidias. After Pheidias we notice how Greek sculpture more and more descends from idealism towards realism, from the great conception of gods to their smaller and more human aspects, from the sublime and grand to the lovely and pleasing, from the life of Olympos to the life of man's earth.

I am not only referring to the introduction of the actual portrait statue in the time of Lysippos, and still less to the realism of the schools of Pergamon and Rhodes, and of the Roman portrait; but I mean the noticeable step from the art of Pheidias to that of the younger Attic school in Skopas and Praxiteles. It is the step from the Zeus of Olympia, evoking reverence, to the graceful boy Apollo, towards whom we almost feel protective tenderness, from the severity of the Virgin Athene to the pathos of a Niobe and the passion of the Maenad. It is the great step from religious art towards human, not to say domestic, art. There can be no doubt that the sepulchral monuments, referring on the one hand to that which succeeds life and transcends it, to that which is most solemn and free

from the actual small desires and disturbances of worldly life, namely, death, partake in so far of a religious character; while, on the other hand, they immediately relate to those who have been with us in the flesh and are our equals, men as we are, and thus represent scenes of actual life. There can be no doubt that this class of works of sculpture bridged over the step from the art of the fifth to the art of the fourth century, that they were a stepping-stone from the divine and religious sculpture to the sculpture that partook of a more human character, from the art of Pheidias to the art of Praxiteles.

PLATE XV. THE CHOISEUL-COUFFIER PUGILIST.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PYTHAGORAS OF RHEGION AND THE EARLY ATHLETE STATUES.

First Article.

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I.

The earliest works of Greek art manifest the inability of the artist to express all he desired by the inherent character of his work. The most striking characteristic of Greek art, and a trait which runs through the whole character of the ancient Greek race, is the simplicity with which it attains its great effects, the perfect harmony which obtains between the desire and conception and the realisation and execution. But it is only in the highest stage that we meet with this power: the genius of Pheidias is characterised by the perfect harmony that subsists between the idea and its realisation. Full proficiency in the technical handling of the material must precede the facile expression of inner conceptions by means of material form; and the study of the history of archaic art is the study of the struggle of the artistic spirit with the reluctant material and its final victory over it.

But the desire to give individual character to their statues was felt by the artists, though they had not the power to put it into the essential form of the work itself. This desire found an outlet in expression by means of more accidental and attributive characteristics. The gods, such as Hermes, Apollo, and Zeus, were characterised by means of their distinctive attributes. The conventional and typical form of a male figure, with the feet, one before the other, and firmly planted in parallel lines, the arms pressed close to the body down to the elbow, received on the extended hand a thunderbolt or a sceptre to indicate Zeus, a bow or a deer to indicate Apollo, a caduceus to personify Hermes. We also meet with an Apollo with a lamb or a Hermes with a

ram, while there is no markedly distinct feature in the personal appearance of either. The same applies to the archaic representations of Hera, Athene, or Artemis. Grace and beauty are not expressed in the essential form of a female figure, but in mere outward actions and positions, such as the light suspension of a part of the garment in one hand, or the holding of a blossom[1]. The position of both hands in the earliest Aphrodite type, which reminds us strongly of the Oriental Astarte, was symbolic of fertility, and had not the moral significance which a similar attitude has in the Aphrodite of Knidos, and still less the morbid self-consciousness expressed by the same attitude in the Venus de' Medici.

But not only did they fail in indicating the individual character of gods and their moral qualities by means of the bodily forms, but in the earliest stages we even find that the artists were incapable of indicating in the statues themselves the difference between the human and the divine. This difficulty arose especially in drawing distinctive lines between gods and athletes in statues. For besides the decorative, architectural figures, we meet with no single statues besides those of athletes in the archaic period. And the difficulty became most apparent in dealing with a youthful male figure like Apollo. The statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion in the market-place of Phigalia is described by Pausanias[2] in a manner which makes him correspond exactly to works like the existing statues of the Apollo of Tenea, Orchomenos, and Thera. Apollo, in these early stages, has all the unadorned dryness of a simple ephebe. He is the type of a youth. A later stage will accentuate strength and muscular development on the one hand, to indicate the athletic character of a human youth, and a more luxurious, comely, physical constitution, fuller and softer forms, on the other hand, to represent the god of male beauty. I do not mean to imply that early Greek art will ever represent an Apollo in the luxurious, effeminate softness which pleased the taste and corresponded to the spirit of the age of decadence; but I simply mean that the incipient expressive power in art will manifest itself in drawing the broad line between strength and richness of form. And the manifestation of this power we do meet with in one earliest instance of statuary, namely, the small

[1] A question well worthy of special investigation is, whether, as I am inclined to believe, the frequent endowment of a female figure with a blossom, a fruit, or a flower, as we have it on so-called 'Spes' figures and on reliefs, does not simply point to an attempt to express the subjective nature of the figure bearing them, maidenly, womanly charm, &c., and that it has no further mythological or mystical significance as is generally assumed.

[2] *Arcadica*, VIII. ch. 40.

bronze of an Apollo from Miletus in the British Museum, generally assumed to be a replica of the Apollo by the sculptor Kanachos of Sikyon. The exact date of this work is a matter of discussion[1]; we may however fairly assume that the Apollo of Miletus falls shortly before or after the 71st Olympiad (493 B. C.). However imperfect the rendering of the original statue may be in so small a replica, and however little adapted, therefore, as a criterion for the details of style, still we cannot help recognising a certain power of giving softer human forms which are clearly opposed to the dryness of the athletic forms. There is no reason to believe that the artistic movement receded, and that the expressive power was smaller after Kanachos than before; the Aeginetan marbles would immediately dispel such an assumption. On the contrary we must assume, that after Kanachos the power to distinguish an Apollo from an athlete grew, and that *a statue which in style and technique belongs to a period subsequent to Kanachos is not an Apollo if the bodily forms markedly bear the characteristics of the athletic youth.*

Even before the times of Kanachos, however, the artists had means of expressing the difference between the god and the athlete in their works, yet in a less essential but a more accessory manner, namely, in the difference of head-dress. A thorough investigation of the question of ancient Greek head-dress which combines the literary and monumental evidence is as yet wanting; and as the following considerations are merely part of a series which prove the importance of elucidating this question, we must devote some space to it.

We are accustomed invariably to associate short hair with athletes, and archaeologists have been up to the present day predisposed to ignore the athletic character of a statue if it did not have short hair. But it is quite impossible that athletes should have been represented with short hair till after the Persian wars. Before this period and for a good while after, the agonistic games and the exercises in the palaestra were an important part of the training of Greek youths. Originally, they were an institution with a fixed social and political aim. They were a *means* to produce strong and skilled citizens. More and more this institution, which was originally a means to some further end, asserted its independence until finally it became the *end* to which the whole personal existence became a means. In modern terms this signifies that the young Greeks were 'gentlemen athletes,' who indulged in exercise to heighten their bodily proficiency, but that, more and

[1] Brunn, *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayr. Akademie*, 1871, p. 518 *seq.*; Urlichs, *Abhandl. üb. d. Anfänge d. griech. Künstlergeschichte*, Würzburg, 1872; M. Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 90.

more, sports became an end in themselves, until athletic exercise became a profession, and all the time, the exertion and aspirations of an individual became subservient to this acquisition. A similar tendency may be noticed in modern times.

We know that the καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί took great pride in their long and thick hair, and it was not only the case in the heroic age, that short or thin hair was considered ungainly. So the ugly Thersites is described ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη. Even in the historic age the same tradition survived. Only the slaves were κεκαρμένοι and were not allowed to wear long hair[1]. Long hair prevailed throughout the whole of Greece. In Sparta Lycurgus fixed the custom by law[2]; the Spartans not only considered long hair ornamental, but also useful, and devoted great care to its preservation and adornment[3]; before the battle they combed and braided their hair[4]. In Attica, and especially at Athens, long hair was also worn, and after the time of the Alkmaeonidae specially luxurious and ornamental forms of head-dress, such as the κρωβύλος, seem to have come into fashion[5].

Now it is evident that the free-born Greek youth was unwilling to sacrifice his long hair, in which he took such pride, to avoid inconvenience during his exercises in the palaestra, or on every occasion that he took part in one of the national games. On the other hand, though long hair must have been a great impediment in many of the daily exercises, and especially in the palaestra, we can still conceive of its being less troublesome in some of the lighter games of the pentathlon, such as running, jumping, throwing the discus or the spear. But in wrestling, boxing, and in the pancration[6] (a combination of the two), the trouble caused by long hair must have been too great. They were driven, therefore, to have recourse to such a disposal of their hair as would render it least in their way; this would consist in braiding the hair into two long plaits, and in compactly laying these two braids round the back of the head, along each side, and firmly tying them in front on the top. This is a simple means of disposing of long hair, which we must assume to have been adopted as the most practical.

[1] Aristoph. *Av.* l. 911.

[2] Xenophon, *De Republ. Lac.* c. xi. § 3; cf. J. H. Krause, *Plotina, od. über die Kostüme des Haupthaares bei den Völkern der alten Welt*, Leipzig, 1858. Abschn. III.

[3] Plutarch, *Apophthegm. reg. et. imperat.* T. i. p. 754; *Lacon. Apophthegm.* p. 917; Lycurg. c. 22.

[4] Herodotus, VII. c. 208.

[5] Thucydides, I. 6.

[6] Special mention is even made of a peculiar head-dress of the pancratiasts, cf. Krause, *Hellenica, I. Gymnastik und Agonistik der Griechen*, &c., p. 54.

The need for such contrivances was done away with after the Persian wars. The ancient customs were altered; only children retained their long hair, while so soon as they became ephebes, in a solemn act their hair was cut off to the length which we notice in the youths on the Parthenon frieze. The feast connected with this act was called *οἰνιστήρια*[1]. The hair thus cut off was dedicated to one of the gods or a river-god[2], and frequently they made a pilgrimage to Delphi to dedicate it to the Pythian Apollo[3]. This change in custom may have been brought about by the reformation in general customs which developed the hardy, warlike spirit of the Greeks, who had learnt the value of strong soldiers, through the struggle with the Persians; and this spirit again may have led to a renewed cultivation and accentuation of athletic sports to serve the common need.

According to the literary sources, therefore, we are led not to expect short-haired athletes till some time after the Persian wars (for the new fashion would not have transfused art until the old association had died out, and the eye of the public had grown accustomed to the innovation); and with works belonging to epochs previous to the Persian wars we shall expect to find long-haired athletes.

The monumental evidence corresponds exactly to the literary traditions which we have just examined. Of the numerous athlete statues which have been recognised as such, not one has been identified as belonging to an earlier date than the Discobolos of Myron. Of this statue there are numerous replicas. But if works have come down to us by later artists and by the famous sculptor Myron, why should no work have survived of one of the earlier artists who were also famous, and of one of whom (Pythagoras of Rhegion) we know that he gained a victory over Myron, his younger contemporary, with an athlete statue[4]? And if furthermore we take into account that, as has been mentioned above, the only single statues besides architectural groups and gods were athlete statues, and if we but glance into Pausanias and see how enormous was the proportion of statues commemorative of agonistic victories to the number of other works of art, our astonishment will rise to a doubt, whether it is not merely through some oversight or prejudice that archaeologists have hitherto failed to recognise athletes in

[1] Hesych. T. II. p. 730; Pollux, VI. 22, Eupolis ap. Photium, *Lexic.* p. 321; Eustath. *Il.* XII. 311, p. 967, 18; cf. Krause, *ibid.* p. 76.

[2] Aeschyl. *Choeph.* 6, Paus. I. 37, 2; Diphilos, *πολυπραγμ.* l. 6 (Comic. Graec. Fragm. ed. Meineke, t. 4, p. 407); *Dio Chrysost.* XXXV. p. 67.

[3] *Dio Chrysostom*, l. c.

[4] 'Pancratiaste Delphis posito, eodem vicit (Myronem).'—Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXXIV. 59.

many statues belonging to the archaic period of Greek art. And so it is. The reason why such statues have not yet been identified among the works belonging to pre-Pheidiac art is simply that the head-dress of the Myronian Discobolos and of all later works has more or less consciously served as a criterion for the athletic character of a work.

The Attic sculptor Myron falls exactly into that period in which we should naturally suppose that the new Athenian fashion had transfused art, and his personal character as it manifests itself through his works was exactly of the stamp to delight in introducing an innovation. After Myron we may always expect short hair with athletes, before Myron we may expect long hair. But, as I have said, archaeologists have never looked for athletes in pre-Myronic works, and so it has come to pass that a certain type of head with the hair disposed in two braids wound round and fastened on the top, has crept into literature as a type of an Apollo. Now I have only found two cases in which this head-dress undoubtedly belongs to a god. The one instance is the youthful Apollo on a relief in the Capitol[1], an instance first noticed by Conze; and the other is a Hermes on a coin from Aenos[2]. Yet in the first case we have the youthful Apollo in an assembly of gods *at home* as it were, and he is then no longer the god, but the ephebe beside Zeus. The artist did well to distinguish him by this means from the other gods who have long hair. In the second instance, Hermes wears the petasos, and this sufficiently indicates the god Hermes; while the very petasos shows that he is in action, and there he impresses the human, working side of his person, and then he properly arranges his hair to suit his swift vocation. In both these cases the gods are conceived in their most human aspect, while the environment in the one case and the petasos in the other indicate their character with sufficient clearness. In all other cases the god Apollo is distinguished from statues of human beings by the ornamental treatment of his hair. He has long curls. So in the above-mentioned Apollo of Kanachos, in the similar marble head in the British Museum[3], on the numerous vase pictures and reliefs[4], representing the contest between Apollo and Heracles for the Delphic

[1] Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, p. 15; Braun, *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie*, taf. 5; Kekulé, *Bullettino dell' Inst. di Corresp. arch.*, 1866, p. 71.

[2] Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. alten Kunst*, II. Pl. 28, 302.

[3] Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griech. Plastik*, Vol. I. p. 109; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, &c., I. Pl. xv. 61; cf. Millin, *Pierres gravées*, Pl. 6.

[4] Though many of these representations may not be genuinely *archaic*, but later imitations of the archaic, what is called *archaistic*, this does not affect their importance, as the imitator had the archaic before him. I shall deal with this question at greater length in the course of our inquiry.

tripos; so also in the Eidolon of Apollo on a bas-relief representing a 'fatto di Paride[1].' Frequently, especially when in action, Apollo wears the braid twisted round his head, but this dry and 'every-day' appearance is always mitigated either by a curl[2], however short, or by a swelling mass of hair on the back of the head[3], a compromise between short and long hair which counteracts the compactness which we consider characteristic of early athlete figures. Even in later art Apollo retains his long hair, which varies in its arrangement with the fashions of different places. But unless a fashion in head-dress, like that of the Apollo Belvedere, prevail, or unless he is represented as a boy, as in the Apollo Sauroktonos, the long curl generally remains his characteristic. It is Hermes, if any god, who in later times partakes more and more of the athlete type, even in the arrangement of the hair; but this is not earlier than the age of Praxiteles[4].

On the other hand, though we notice that while on festive occasions (as may be seen on archaic vase representations) and in solemn moments (as on the archaic Peloponnesian sepulchral stele)[5], men wear their hair long; yet in moments of physical exertion or moments preceding it, in warlike contests, and especially in athletic sports, the braid wound round the head prevails[6]. Athletes on black-figured vases, and even on the red-figured of the severer order, all have this head-dress, though the technical execution in indicating the details of the hair does not belong to the earliest vase-painters, and is not added by those who in later times imitated the conventionally archaic. The drawings are merely in outline, and the braid is generally indicated in

[1] Guattani, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Roma, 1784–5.

[2] Archaic silver coins of Leontini, *v.* laureate, hair short over forehead in formal curls over temple, plaited behind, with long curls falling behind the ear. The curl is to be noticed in coins even of later type. In the one belonging to the best period the curl is very short. Catal. coins in British Museum. Sicily.

[3] Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite Ceramographique*, II. Pl. 57, 55, 5. A marble head recently found in Rome represents the type of an Apollo with the braid, but there is something soft and luxurious in the rest of the hair, and he has a curl on the side.

[4] On the François vase all the gods have long hair.

[5] Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instituts in Athen, II.*, p. 301, *seq.*, Taf. 20 & 24; also Milchhoefer III. p. 163; Overbeck, *G. d. Gr. Pl.* I. p. 83, 84, 85.

[6] I have found one instance, in a small bronze in the British Museum, in which a youth is represented with long hair, like the Apollo of Tenea, holding a discus in his hand. In the lighter sports there may not have been the need of the typically athletic arrangement of hair. This would even tend to throw some doubt upon the 'Apollo character' of another group of archaic statues.

the outline by an elevation in the back, or on the top of the head. There are, however, many instances in which the typical head-dress is clearly given. The finest instance of this is the Achilles with Briseis on the beautiful vase in the Vatican published by Gerhard[1]. Achilles stands in armour without his helmet, the type of a strong youth, while the artistic style of the work leads us to a period shortly before Pheidias. We notice the same in an Achilles on another vase, 'Ira di Achille[2],' formerly in the Campana collection, and now at Paris. There is also a young man with arms, about to take leave of his father; painted by the vase painter Duris[3]. The same occurs also on an Athenian Lekythos, published by De Witte[4], on a vase picture published by Panofka[5], on several others published by Gerhard[6], and on many others.

In marble we meet with this mode of wearing the hair in the pedimental statues from the temple of Athene of Aegina. Most of the warriors wear helmets, but even then we can perceive this arrangement, and it is especially clear in the forward-striding nude figure without a helmet from the western pediment. The two figures on either corner of the pediments, it is true, have long hair, but then they are wounded and dying, and by their action, as well as their position, are literally *hors de combat.* Artistic reasons, such as variety and harmony in the relaxed lines of the figures, must also have prompted the sculptor to make this change. We have mentioned before that earlier Greek art did not represent single statues of warriors, and that we only meet with groups. The only single *statues* are gods and athletes. Were the early artist to render a warrior in a single statue, he would always represent him armed and with his helmet. In active combat the warrior is an armed and seriously aggressive athlete, and no doubt the sculptor studied in the palaestra the attitudes he rendered in his group.

Besides the numerous vase pictures which represent athletes with the braid, so numerous that it is needless to attempt at enumerating them, we also find a similar head-dress on a gem representing an athlete[7]. But what is most conclusive is the evidence afforded by statues. In the Palazzo dei Conservatori there is a mutilated marble

[1] See *Auserwählte Vasenbilder*, III. Tf. 184, and the same, reproduced in the original issue of this paper, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. I., Pl. VI.

[2] *Monumenti dell' Instit. di corr. arch.* Vol. VI. tav. 19, also on tav. 20; E. Braun, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1858, pp. 374-383.

[3] *Mon.* Vol. VIII. tav. 41; Roulez, *Annali*, 1867, pp. 157, &c.

[4] *Gazette archéologique*, 1867, p. 141, Pl. 34.

[5] *Vasenbilder*, Taf. I. 1.

[6] *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Taf. 13, 14, 15.

[7] Visconti, I. p. 276, and Pl. A. IV. 7; Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. inedit.* No. 106; *Gemme Stockmar.* p. 348.

figure with braided hair, with legs drawn up, and what remains of the arms extended, so that this figure evidently represents a charioteer. This instance still admits of debate, but not so two bronzes from the numismatic cabinet in Vienna[1]. Here we have a figure with a discus, undoubtedly an athlete, and with the head-dress most clearly indicated. Besides these two bronzes I found several others corresponding exactly to them in the bronze room of the British Museum. A similar discobolos is also published by E. Braun[2]. Single heads of this type occur very frequently: the Neapolitan bronze head, a marble head in the Sala Chiaramonti of the Vatican Museum, another in the British Museum from Cyrene (Hellenic Room, No. 53), and two in the Museum of Berlin[3]. One of these two heads (Plate V., Fig. 5 in the first publication of this paper) is of special interest. Conze says of it that there is great negligence in the execution of the braid, that it can hardly be recognised as hair; in fact it seems to me to be more of a mixture of a braid and an ornamented band, almost partaking more of the character of the latter. Now I venture to formulate an hypothesis in connexion with this head, but I must impress upon the reader its purely hypothetical character. The band was originally not an essentially athletic attribute. The wreath, of which there were different kinds for the different local games, and the palm-branch were the original prizes, while the band was a general article of adornment used on many other occasions. It is only in later times that it became so general in art as an athletic attribute, and I believe that it was from a desire to compensate the eye, which had grown accustomed to the line round the head from the time of braids, that the band was freely adopted. The Berlin head would be the monumental boundary-line of the transition from one custom to the other, and though it has a band, the band is decorated with a zig-zag line as a reminder of the antiquated braid.

The evidence, both literary and monumental, which I have adduced with regard to the head-dress of statues belonging to the period previous to Myron leads us without fail to conclude that *if a statue has no long hair or ornamental attributes, such as curls, it is in all probability not an Apollo; and if the hair is arranged in two braids on the back of the head, wound round and fastened on the top, the statue is in all probability that of an athlete.*

[1] Von Sacken, *Die antiken Bronzen des königl. Münzcabinets in Wien*, Taf. 45, fig. 1., und Taf. 37, fig. 4. The latter is reproduced in the original issue of this paper, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* Vol. 1. Pl. v, fig. 1.

[2] *Mon. dell' Inst.* Vol. II. tav. 29, and *Annali*, 1836, p. 54.

[3] Conze, *Beiträge*, &c., Taf. viii.

II.

The so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum[1] (Plate XV.), one of the finest Greek statues in the Museum, evidences in its technical execution a style later than the works of Kanachos. Upon examining this statue we are first and chiefly impressed with the high muscular development, with the physical power of the youthful figure. Nay, apart from the heavy youths considered to be replicas of the Polycletian Doryphoros and Diadumenos, there is hardly another athlete statue which represents so strong a man. There can be no doubt as to the intention of the artist: he desired to fashion a statue whose chief characteristic was to be physical strength. The long hair is neatly and firmly plaited into two braids, which are wound round the head and are tightly fastened together on the top: the head-dress which we have found to be typically that of an athlete before the time of Myron. This suffices to show that the statue is not an Apollo, but an athlete[2]. It will become more evident the further we proceed. It is also a signal confirmation that a statue on the staircase of the Uffizi in Florence[3], stupidly restored with a short staff in the one hand and a shield in the other, has been generally considered an athlete, and by some even a Doryphoros of Polykleitos, simply because it has a head with short hair, which does not originally belong to the statue at all. Anybody with a trained eye will immediately recognise that the body of this statue, so far as it is genuinely antique, is exactly the same as the London statue, and the other replicas which we shall consider hereafter. The attitude, the outline of the figure, the bodily proportions, the technical handling of the surface, the modelling of the muscles, down to the peculiar flatness of the abdomen and the straight line that marks the beginning of the pubes, the back and the strongly prominent nates, the peculiar form of the navel and the strong accentuation of certain veins—all is identical in both.

[1] Specimens of ancient sculpture in the British Museum, Vol. II. Pl. V.; Conze, *Beitrage*, Taf. vi.

[2] Clarac (Vol. III. Pl. 482, 931 H. Text, Vol. III. p. 213), who is relatively unprejudiced, expresses his doubt whether this be an Apollo and not an athlete: 'ce pourrait être un athlète.' The Capitoline replica he simply calls an athlete.

[3] Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien. Griechische Ephebenstatue*, p. 8, No. 27. I subsequently find that Dütschke has also noticed that the head does not belong to the statue, and that he points to a relation between this statue and the 'Apollo on the Omphalos.'

But that the London statue is an Apollo has been fastened into the minds of archaeologists by the fact that it has been published and discussed by Conze (*Beiträge*, ii.), in connexion with the almost identical statue in the Patissia Museum of Athens known as the Apollo on the Omphalos[1] (Fig. 23 *a*), and that it has since then been looked upon as a kind of replica of that statue. The truth is that the London, the Athenian, and the Florentine statues are co-ordinate in artistic excellence, and that they most probably are replicas of an original which, to judge from traces in the marble in the treatment of the hair, from a certain sharpness in the modelling of the brows and bones, and other subtle indications, was most probably of bronze. The other replica mentioned by Conze[2] is in the Capitoline Museum[3], and is of inferior workmanship.

Now if the Athenian statue really was on an omphalos, then it most likely was an Apollo, and at all events could not have been an athlete. I was fortunate enough to find the statue and the omphalos which is supposed to have served as its base separate in the Museum, and I immediately convinced myself and others by the simplest means (namely, by standing on the omphalos in the position of the 'Apollo') that they do not belong together. But as statements once printed have a strange power of clinging, and as a mere personal assertion on my part will not suffice to disprove an opinion now generally adopted[4], I hope to prove it conclusively with the assistance of the exact illustrations (Plate V., *Journal of Hellen. Stud.*, Vol. I.).

Now, in the first place, the circumstances of the discovery are far from furnishing any evidence that the statue and the omphalos belong to one another. It is generally assumed that they were found together. But Conze himself says (p. 14): '*Es ist zuzugeben, dass eine volle durch äussere Umstände erwiesene Sicherheit für die Zusammenghörigkeit nicht vorhanden ist. Namentlich darf Köhlers Ausdruck, der Omphalos sei*

[1] Pervanoglu, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1862, p. 168 seq.; Köhler, *Bnll.* 1865, p. 134; Lützow in *L.'s Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1868, p. 24, 1869, p. 283; Kekulé, *Beschreib. d. Theseions*, p. 36, No. 70, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1869, p. 85, ff.; also *Die Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*, &c., p. 41; Schwabe, *De Apolline in Omphalo, Programm.* Dorpat, 1870; Bursian, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1869, p. 592.

[2] *Ibid.* taf. vii. [3] Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, 862, 2189.

[4] Köhler says, (*l.c.*): 'Un nuovo esame dei due pezzi ci ha verificato pienamente questa congettura, di modo che anche sulla denominazione della statua non può cadere piu alcun dubbio.' This is a step from the probable to the certain; for Pervanoglu, who first wrote about the statue (see previous note), merely says, 'Al quale (Apolline) *forse* potrebbe aver appartenuto un onfalo di marmo bianco,' &c.

nahe bei der Figur gefunden worden, nicht dafür geltend gemacht werden. Der Vorsteher der Alterthümer in Athen Eustratiadis hat mir vielmehr auf meine Anfrage durch Postolakkas mittheilen lassen, der Omphalos sei ausserhalb der Orchestra zwischen den parallelen Mauern der westlichen Parados, die Statuenstücke seien hinter den mittleren Inschriftsesseln [of the theatre of Dionysos], *beide Theile also doch in einigem Abstande von einander, aufgegraben.*' If the Greeks who were present during the excavations, and had the supervision over them, state that the statue was found within, the omphalos without, the walls of the theatre, some distance apart, then no great weight can be attached to the mere conjecture that they were connected. It would be different if the foot-marks on the omphalos did really, as has been asserted, correspond to the position of the legs of the 'Apollo' so far as they are preserved. But this is not the case. In the first place, the feet, as indicated on the omphalos, would be too small for the statue, but furthermore; what is most manifest, the feet of the 'Apollo' could not have stood in that position. On the omphalos the left foot was nearer the centre than the right foot, while the left leg of the statue is projected beyond the right leg, and so the left foot would have been nearer the circumference of the omphalos, nay, would have projected beyond it; that is, it would partly, yet firmly, have rested on-nothing. In the drawing (Plate V., Fig. 6, *J. H. S.* Vol. I.), the outline shows the footprints as they are, the broken line (- - -) the position of the right foot as it ought to be according to the position of the ankle of the statue as it is now placed on the omphalos in the cast copies of many museums in Germany, the dotted line (. . . . .) as the left foot ought to be, if the right foot of the statue corresponded to the position of the right foot on the omphalos. At all events it becomes evident that, if one of the feet of the statue held the position of the corresponding foot on the omphalos, then the other foot could not have corresponded.

It is difficult to see, moreover, how another circumstance did not at once serve to show the impossibility of the received view. On the right leg on the left side, somewhat towards the back, a piece of marble runs from above the knee to below the middle of the calf. Conze draws the following conclusion: because the statue 'doubtless belongs to the omphalos, this addition can surely not have been the connexion with the stem of a tree attached to the statue' (as is the case with all the other copies and with most marble statues of this kind), 'for there are no traces of a tree stump on the omphalos behind the right foot.' It is strange when we compare with the premiss to this conclusion the passage several lines below in which the author says, that in placing the

cast in the Museum of Halle, he followed the assumption that the omphalos and the statue belonged together, and that 'this attempt had made the assumption even more probable.' Pervanoglu thinks it probable that the statue and omphalos belong together; but he entirely forgets that he before said, 'Le braccia pendevano allato del corpo, e da alcuni vestigii riconoscibili dietro al piede destro risulta esser ivi stato un tronco forse d' albero, come spesso lo troviamo in statue reputate copie d' originali di metallo.'

Conze supposes this projection to have been the rest for an attribute which the statue held in its right hand, but it is too large for this purpose and too far back. It decidedly was the bridge which attached the statue to the stem of a tree, and which the artist placed between the tree and the body (as is frequently the case), to give as much as possible of the roundness of form. But there is no room for a stem on the omphalos, apart from there being no vestiges of such an appendage. This was also seen by Bursian (*l. c.*); but he furnishes an instance of how difficult it is to dissociate two things that have been bound together with printed paper. Because the Apollo could not have stood *on* the omphalos, therefore he assumes that the Apollo stood beside the omphalos, and another statue, perhaps an Orestes seeking propitiation, stood on the omphalos.

The statue has, in fact, nothing whatever to do with the omphalos. The position of the legs is the same in the London and in the Athenian statue; and I shall mention a final test, which, together with what has been already said, will, I hope, once for all clear the statue of any connexion with the representation of the sacred omphalos of the earth at Delphi. I suspended a plumb-line from the parting in the hair on the forehead of the London statue, and found that the lead touched the right half of the great toe of the right foot; the line applied to the cast of the Athenian statue in Munich, here placed on the omphalos, showed that the lead fell slightly over two inches from the great toe of the right foot-mark on the omphalos towards the mark of the left foot. As there might be some slight difference in the position of the head in these two replicas, and to verify any resulting inaccuracy, I let the perpendicular fall from the middle of the navel in the London statue, which fell about half an inch to the (our) right of the great toe of the right foot, while applied to the Athenian statue it fell slightly over three inches from the right foot-mark.

The omphalos is therefore fairly got rid of, and we may now return to the consideration of this athlete statue. The question now arises, to what class of athletes does this representation belong?

The intention of the sculptor to present the heavy type of strength is so manifest in the London statue that, negatively, we cannot consider him to belong to the category of light athletes, those, namely, of the pentathlon; and the sculptor who could make such a statue undoubtedly had the power to distinguish different types of men. This statue belongs to the heavier genus of athletes, the boxer or the pancratiast. In the earliest period, as we have mentioned before, the artists were not able to confer individual character upon their statues, and the difficulty must have been greatest in cases where a spear or a discus, or halteres, could not be added as attributes to make the nature of the athlete clear. This kind of athlete had to be expressed in the figure itself. In reading Pausanias we notice that the greatest number of statues of Olympian and other victors which he mentions were pancratiasts and pugilists; but no pancratiast and no early pugilist has as yet been identified, because they were wanting in so simple an attribute as the discus. Such an athlete could, however, be clearly indicated; not as the *distortus* and *elaboratus* of some of the pugilist statues of later times, but by the sculptor's power of expression by means of the bodily *rhythm* even in quiet attitudes. On vase figures we generally see them in action, and there is no difficulty in indicating them; but these very vase figures show us an attitude characteristic of these games, one which is not restless and dramatic, but is most suitable for plastic art. It is in figures representing the ephedros. Before a contest the combatants drew lots, and each pair that had drawn the same letter fought; but if there was an uneven number of combatants, the third had to wait until the two had finished, and then he fought the victor. This man was called the ephedros, and he is represented on vase pictures[1] waiting, while two are boxing or wrestling, in a peculiar attitude which seems to have been characteristic of a heavy athlete. This position is the same as in the statues we are discussing. The ephedros stands firmly, while the upper part of the body, chest, shoulders, and arms are especially accentuated. Involuntarily the eye of the spectator was drawn to those parts which were of greatest importance in this sport, and when highly developed were the chief characteristics of a pugilist or a pancratiast.

[1] Laborde, *Vases de Lamberg*, I. Pl. 74; Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii. No. 787, 497. A relief in Clarac (I. Pl. 200, 271), though very late in style, shows how the chest was drawn back.—*Mus. Bouillon*, t. iii. suppl. Pl. 2. No. 15; Jahn, *Beschr. d. Vas. Sam. K. Ludw. I.* See also *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* Vol. I., Pl. VI, fig. 2. The illustration there given of an ephedros does not correspond to the statue with regard to the position of the feet; in the other instances from vases which we quote, and in many not quoted, the position is the same even in this respect.

The shoulders are drawn back and the chest protrudes, while, by this movement, the skin is tightly drawn over the ribs, which therefore become conspicuous. All lines of the statue converge towards the chest, as in the Pallas of Velletri all lines meet in the forehead. This will account for certain characteristics which Köhler ascribes especially to the archaism in the work, when he says (*l. c.*): 'Il carattere arcaico si manifesta sopratutto nell' *attitudine* della figura, che è quella di un uomo, *che con stento torce le braccia e le spalle in dietro di modo che il petto sporge al di fuori, mentre le parti di dietro fin là dove finisce la schiena sono molto incavate.*' The veins, which are, in any case, accentuated with a certain exaggeration, are most visible and protruding on the shoulder and upper arm, a means, in the early times, of indicating which parts are momentarily or habitually more especially exerted. On the figures from the western pediment of the temple of Aegina the veins are not generally indicated. But in a few instances, as the so-called Achilles[1], as Brunn has remarked, they are indicated on the right arm to suggest the exertion of the wounded warrior who is struggling to rise.

The question then is narrowed to this: Is this athlete a pancratiast or a pugilist? At first I supposed that the statue represented a victor in the pancration, the game which, as the name indicates, demanded the greatest strength. The pancration[2] was a combination of wrestling and boxing: the combatants could use their hands and feet, they fought standing, and continued fighting while on the ground; it was the most violent of contests, easily became brutal, and not unfrequently brought on the death of a combatant[3]. A very favourite and advantageous method seems to have been for a pancratiast to get his adversary in what is called with us 'in chancery[4],' to catch the oppo-

[1] Brunn, *Beschreibung der kgl. Glyptothek zu München*, No. 60, p. 87.

[2] Cf. *Annali*, II. 1830, Gerhard, p. 215, 216, &c.; *Monumenti*, Pl. XXII. 56, s. 6, also on bronze vase, *Mon.* V. Pl. 25 (1857); Clarac, II. 616, 17, I. Pl. 200, 271; Bouillon, Vol. III. suppl. Pl. II. No. 15. The Florence group of 'wrestlers' is also a scene from the pancration, *Real Galleria di Fir.* ser. iv. Vol. III., Pl. 122.

[3] Paus. viii. 40.

[4] On an Archaic tazza, *Annali, ib.* 1878, p. 34, tav. D., Heracles has the Titan Anteus in chancery; the same Heracles and the lion (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* IV. Taf. 266), and Theseus and the Minotaur (Gerh. *Auserl. Vasenb.* Vol. III. Taf. 160 and 161). Prof. Colvin directed my attention to a vase published by Heydemann (third in *Hallisches Winckelmann's Programm*) in which a Lapith holds a Centaur in a similar position. Cf. also Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensamml. König Ludwig's I.*, No. 307, 476, 1199, on which vases with mythological combats even the ephedros appears. Motives from the palaestra were transferred to mythological scenes to illustrate the contest for which the vase was a prize. I take this opportunity to make one general hypothetical remark which is of importance for the general method of vase interpreta-

nent's neck in the one arm, and to strike with the fist of the other hand. What chiefly distinguishes the pugilist from the pancratiast is the caestus, which the boxer always has in artistic illustrations, though there are a few cases in which pancratiasts (evidently from the fact of their using their hands to wrestle, and not only to strike) also have the caestus; but these are quite exceptional. The pancratiast is distinguished from the wrestler in that he strikes. A frequent motive is that of one of the combatants catching the leg of his adversary with the one hand, and giving him a blow with the other, as, for instance, on the above-quoted vase of Lamberg, published by Laborde. The pugilist is typically indicated in illustrations, in that he is merely striking, and has the caestus[1]. In the earliest times the caestus corresponded somewhat to our boxing-gloves; it was called μειλίχη[2], and was not meant to enhance the severity of the blow, but, as the name indicates, to avoid pain to the striker, and perhaps even to weaken the blow for the one struck. The next stage, still belonging to the early period, which probably continued till near the decadence, was the stiff thong of hide ἱμὰς ὀξύς, which doubtless more effectually spared the fingers and

tion, and which space will not allow me to deal with at greater length. The Greek vases of better quality may be classed, according to their original destination, into two great classes, sepulchral and agonistic. The sepulchral vases were meant to be placed within the graves; the agonistic vases contained the oil which was given as a prize to the victors in the games. A third class may be added, namely, those that were given as presents between lovers. I do not refer to common vessels that were used to convey oil and merchandise. I doubt whether these were ornamented in an artistic style. Now the illustrations were influenced by their destination. A sepulchral vase destined for the grave of a youth would be decorated, *e.g.* on the one side with a scene from the Triptolemos myth; on the other side it may have *genre*-scenes from the life of a Greek youth, as I have shown in the Poniatowski vase. For the graves of warriors fallen in battle, corresponding scenes from the Trojan war, &c. In the case of athletic vases, even in the mythological scenes, attitudes and situations will be chosen from the game for which they were offered as prizes. Jahn etc. 584, has a representation of the contest between Peleus and Atalante, while the back is decorated with a scene from a πυγμή. The καλός, or παῖς καλός, seems to me to be a token of approbation and congratulation for the winner, the recipient of the vase. Vases as gifts between lovers will also be decorated with corresponding love-scenes and myths. Of course a κύλιξ given as a prize will appropriately be ornamented with a convivial scene. I do not mean that this is the only and exhaustive point from which vase-pictures ought to be viewed; but what I here suggest is, that it is an important point from which to view vase-pictures, and that if it were carried out it would no doubt throw much new light on these representations.

[1] For illustrations, cf. Inghirami, *Pitture di Vasi Fittili*, vol. III. tav. 232; Clarac, Pl. 851, 2180 A; 1788, 855, 2182; 856, 2180, 858, 2181, 858 *d*, 2187 *a*, &c.; Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* IV. Taf. 272 and 271; Jahn, 411.

[2] Paus. VIII. 40.

knuckles of the boxer. The boxer generally covered his hand and wrist with some soft material and fastened it by winding the thong round: he placed one end of the thong longitudinally along the wrist, and then wound it tight round the wrist and the hand, passing the other end through the palm of the hand. On a Panathenaic vase published by De Witte[1], a πυγμή is represented, and an ephedros is standing on one side of the combatants, holding his hand to his lips, evidently in the act of pulling the end of the thong between his teeth to tighten it round his hand, which is covered with some cloth or skin. This kind of caestus I believe to have been prevalent during the early Greek age, while it is to the decadence and brutalisation of athletic games that the barbarous caestus of Roman ages belongs, which was furnished with leaden and iron balls,

> 'Terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant;'
> (Verg. *Aen.* v. 405);

and with which defeat produced results as described by Vergil (*Aen.* v. 468), .

> 'Ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem,
> Iactantemque utroque caput, crassumque cruorem
> Ore eiectantem, mistosque in sanguine dentes,
> Ducunt ad naves.'

On the tree stump of the London statue there runs a band or strap about half an inch in width, and about two and a half feet in length. This strap puzzled archaeologists, especially as they considered the statue to be an Apollo. I at first supposed that it was meant to represent a victor's band; but I found that the artist of the statue could have indicated far more clearly the texture of a band, and here there is a decided intention to render the stiff texture of leather, while the thickness and narrowness would not suit a band. It immediately became clear to me that we here have to deal with the leather thong, the ἱμὰς ὀξύς, which shows this athlete to be a pugilist.

If, finally, I were to attempt a restoration of this statue, I should give him in his left hand a palm-branch, which would account for the notch on the side of his left leg near the knee. The Athenian statue

[1] *Monumenti dell' Inst.* vol. x. tav. 48. The ephedros quoted above from Gerhard's *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii. is to the left of the two boxers who have the caestus; on the right is the agonodikes. This ephedros holds a thong in his left hand (the ἱμὰς ὀξύς), while his right hand is violently drawn back as if about to strike a heavy blow.

has a similar remnant of marble, which shows that he also held a long attribute in his left hand. The palm-branch was one of the essential prizes awarded to victors in all the games[1], and they are frequently represented on vase-figures (*e.g.* on the one above mentioned, published by De Witte) bearing it. Though it could easily and lastingly be given to bronze figures (of which material the athlete statues generally were), it was most easily broken in marble statues. But if a hand with a piece of a palm-branch was found by one of the restorers during the Renaissance in Italy, and even were found to-day, it would be considered a 'pezzo d'arco' of an Apollo; for the tendency prevails to see in every youthful male figure an Apollo, as nearly all the female figures are termed *Venere.*

It now remains to ask, to what period does this pugilist belong? Several of the above mentioned writers on this statue have considered the archaic elements in it to be conventional, and not genuine; what is called archaistic, or '*archaisirend*,' in contradistinction to archaic.

Ever since statues like the Dresden Athene[2] and the Neapolitan Artemis[3] have been found, in which the intentional rendering of imperfections belonging to early art is manifestly connected with considerable power of freedom in execution, and especially since Kekulé[4] has traced the eclectic style of Pasiteles in the work of one of his pupils, Stephanos, these discoveries, as is so frequently the case, have led to extremes, so that archaeologists nowadays see '*archaisiren*' and Pasiteles in a disproportionately great number of ancient statues. This exaggeration cannot but be harmful to the investigation of the style of ancient works. Those who merely look for *archaising* forget one important factor in the copies of the Greek originals from the Roman era which have come down to us—namely, what may be termed *modernising.* Anybody at all acquainted with the peculiarities of 'old masters' knows how difficult it is for artists of a later time to copy exactly the works of their forefathers: modern and subjective elements will invariably creep into the work of the copyist. This is most evident in copies from the paintings of old Italian masters. But it can be seen even if we compare

[1] Paus. VIII. 48; Vitruv. Preface to lib. ix. In the Patissia Museum at Athens there is an unfinished marble statue of a young athlete who holds a palm-branch in his hand. In this case the palm has withstood the effect of time, because the statue is merely blocked out, and all presented one firm mass.

[2] Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* I. p. 195.

[3] Raoul Rochette, *Peintures de Pompeii*, pl. 5, and Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* I. p. 194.

[4] *Annali*, 1865, p. 56 *seqq.*, 'Statua Pompeiana di Apolline,' and in his above-quoted work on the *Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos.*

the various replicas of the same work in ancient marbles which lead back to a common original, as, for instance, the Discobolus of Myron, the Boy with the Goose, the Thorn-Extractor, &c. We then see how they vary, how the hair—nay, even the position of the head, varies in the Discobolus in the Palazzo Massimi in Rome, and the one in the British Museum. And these works in the original moreover did not belong to the markedly archaic class whose characteristics are so difficult to imitate, because they belong to a period so remote and essentially different in spirit from the age of the copyist. A very clever copyist will be able to avoid to some degree this discord between the modern and the ancient. A comparison, even hasty, between our statue and the ephebe by Stephanos and the manifestly Pasitelean statues will immediately show that there is not the slightest relation between them.

The simple fact that there exist four replicas of this work proves that it could not have come from the studio of an obscure imitator, but leads us back, in all probability, to a famous Greek original. An archaeologist in whose artistic tact and thoroughness I have the greatest faith objected to me that he found a lack of unity in the 'Apollo of the Omphalos' which made him doubt its genuine archaism. With this feeling I can thoroughly sympathise, and it can readily be accounted for. Thus an *athlete* on an *omphalos* is in itself a contradiction which robs the statue of its unity of composition. The first stimulus to this inquiry was the feeling of incongruity which I experienced upon seeing the London statue with the subscription 'Apollo.' Then again the head-dress, which was not accounted for, and furthermore, the attitude, which seems constrained unless we recognise the intention expressed in it, must produce such an impression. And finally, this statue, as will become clearer, belongs to that very period of transition from the archaic to the greatest freedom, in which we necessarily expect a mixture of the two elements. On the one hand the head-dress, the peculiar formation of the navel (not perpendicular, but the lower half running inward, and furnished, as it were, with an eyelid—this peculiarity is in all the replicas), the flatness of the abdomen, the straight line of the pubes, the swelling glutaei, &c.,—all these are archaic elements. On the other hand, the general modelling and the rhythmical treatment of the whole figure are not far from the perfection of the masterpieces of Pheidias. Whoever has studied the anatomical proportions of the human body cannot fail to see that there is the greatest organic unity in this work[1].

[1] I cannot refrain from quoting the exclamation of an artist of repute upon examining the London statue in my presence; it was: 'Mantegna!'

According to its execution it cannot be of earlier origin than the Aeginetan marbles, and not later than the Discobolos of Myron. Conze and several other archaeologists have thought it probable that the Apollo was the work of the sculptor Kalamis, whose life falls within this epoch, and he conjectures that it may be a replica of the Apollo Alexikakos[1] in Athens by that sculptor. But this statue has not the *μειδίαμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθός*[2], not the softness and sweetness which is chiefly characteristic of this sculptor. A small Athenian altar with relief, which Overbeck[3] believes to illustrate the style of Kalamis, together with a Calabrian terra-cotta representing Hermes and Aphrodite with Eros in her arms, published by Michaelis[4], may give us an impression of what the style of Kalamis was like. Far more unfounded is the recent assertion of Furtwaengler[5] that the 'Omphalos Apollo corresponds to the style of Alcamenes.' In fact the style of our statue is not purely Attic; it has a large admixture of the Peloponnesian severity and dryness, while again it cannot be classed among the Peloponnesian works, and cannot be ascribed to any of the artists of Argos and Sikyon. By this negative method of exclusion there remains but one sculptor in this age, Pythagoras of Rhegion, famous for his athlete statues, who was neither an Attic nor a Peloponnesian sculptor.

III.

Pythagoras of Rhegion[6] flourished between the 70th and 80th Olympiads. We have two fixed dates on his works, Ol. 73, and Ol. 77. Pliny's statement that he flourished in the 90th Olympiad, is decidedly an error, and is to be attributed (as Brunn has shown) to his assumption that, as Pythagoras was contemporary with Myron, and Myron with Polykleitos, Pythagoras lived as late as the latter. According to Pausanias[7], he was a pupil of Klearchos, who again was a pupil of Eucheiros of Corinth, whose master was Syadras of Sparta. He is

[1] Paus. I. 3, 4.

[2] Lucian, *Imagg.* 6. Cf. Overbeck, *Antiken Schriftquellen zur Gesch. d. bild. Künste bei den Griechen.* Pp. 95, 98.

[3] *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, I. p. 219.

[4] *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867, tav. d'agg. D.

[5] *Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeolog. Instituts in Athen*, 1880, p. 37.

[6] Brunn, *Geschichte der Griech. Künstler*, I. pp. 132, *et seq.*; Beulé, *Histoire de l'Art grecque avant Péricles*, p. 405; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Pl.* I., p. 202.

[7] VI. 13.

chiefly known and praised for his athlete statues. And that this was his strong point is evident from the simple fact that of his fourteen statues which are mentioned by ancient authors, eight were of athletes, while of the remaining six, two again, the winged Perseus[1] and the contest between Eteokles and Polyneikes[2], were athletic in character. Only one female figure is mentioned as by him, the Europa on the Bull[3]; here we do not know enough to form any opinion. The remaining statues were probably all nude men.

It appears that he excelled in rendering the nude male form. How excellent his work was and how highly it was appreciated becomes evident not only from the fact that, as has before been quoted from Pliny, he gained a victory over Myron with his statue of a pancratiast, but from the praise which classical authors bestow upon him. If we bear in mind how sober an author Pausanias was, and how sparing he is with his praise, we can appreciate the weight of his remark on the statue of the pugilist Euthymus by Pythagoras, *θέας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος*[4]; and when we bear in mind that, a few lines after his high praise of the artist Pythagoras with regard to his statue of the wrestler Leontiskos[5] (*εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικήν*), he simply says of Pheidias, *ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Φειδίου σοφίας*,—we can then see in what high appreciation this artist was held.

But we know that he was not merely a clever follower of his masters, but that he greatly contributed to the advancement of art, that he was an innovator. So we learn from Pliny[6]: *Hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius.* The *primus* and *πρῶτον* in such a context are not always to be translated literally 'the first,' or 'the first time,' but they mean that something has been done with full consciousness, that it is a marked step in advance. The hair of our pugilist is more carefully worked than in similar earlier or contemporary works, *e.g.* the Aeginetans. *Nervos* really means sinews, and Pliny means that he essentially advanced in the rendering of muscles and sinews. The way in which the muscles and sinews are treated in the pugilist we are dealing with is unprecedented in early art. Finally, I have already mentioned the veins as peculiarly pronounced in all the four replicas of this statue. They are no doubt exaggerated, and I have attributed this

[1] Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 37, 10.

[2] Tatian, *c. Graec.* 54, p. 118 (ed. North).

[3] Tatian, *c. Graec.* 53, p. 116; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 31; Cic. *in Verr.* IV. 60, 135.

[4] VI. 6, 4.

[5] VI. 4, 3.

[6] 34, 59.

to the desire of the artist to express the habitual exertion of the upper part of the body in this person; yet even with this consideration there remains a degree of clumsiness and exaggeration in the pronounced indication of veins in this statue which points to the fact that it is a new thing. Moderation is a result of maturity. A beginner in art is apt to exaggerate in drawing and in colour; an artist who begins to indicate that which was not indicated before will render it more pronouncedly than he will later on, when he is accustomed to it. From the way in which the veins are here indicated, not only on the shoulder and the upper arm, but on the inner side of the arm down to the wrist, and on the foot (sometimes not quite with anatomical correctness) we feel that this was an early attempt. On earlier archaic statues there is no indication of veins. I have carefully examined the Aeginetan marbles, and have found that on the western pediment the indication of veins is very rare, and so to say, timidly ventured upon. Besides the Achilles there are three others who have very slight indications on parts that are strained[1]. On the eastern pediment, however, the figures have a highly developed system of veins, as clear as in the case of the pugilist. It is universally accepted that the temple of Athene at Aegina was built about the 75th Olympiad. Now it is also accepted that the style of the eastern pediment is far more advanced than that of the western pediment. Either there was a great revolution, or rather reformation, within the style of the artist after he had completed the western pediment, or else the older artist died before the temple was completed, and one of his younger pupils or sons who was of the 'more modern' school, completed the work of his father or master in the eastern pediment, while he in general retained the style of the western pediment, but especially in the execution of details gave way to his later acquisitions. Pythagoras was already an artist of repute in the 73rd, or at least the 74th Ol., and the striking difference in the eastern and western pediment with regard to the expression of veins justifies the hypothesis that in the western pediment the artist was not wholly under the influence of the innovation of Pythagoras, while in the eastern pediment he freely laid himself open to it[2].

[1] The dying one to the left, the arm on which he rests; so also Achilles; also the second figure to left, and on the foot of the kneeling hoplite on the right side.

[2] Instances in which younger artists have influenced the style of their older contemporaries are frequent. I need only adduce Raphael and Francia. To make a clear but simple chronological statement, I may merely say that Pythagoras was to his older contemporary, Onatas of Aegina, as Myron was to Pythagoras, and as Polykleitos and Pheidias were to Myron.

But this passage in Pliny is not restricted to the three points (nervos, venas, capillum) which he enumerates, but seems to express the general excellency of the modelling, the *indication of texture* in the statues of Pythagoras. And the whole weight of this dictum can only become clear to us when we bring this passage into connexion with what Diogenes Laertius says of Pythagoras[1]: *πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι.*

Now this word *ῥυθμός*, whatever its application may be, necessarily embodies the idea of *flow*[2]. While symmetry is an architectural idea, the exact accordance between the two halves of one body, which forms the essential quality of architecture, rhythm is a plastic idea, has its essence in a certain deviation from this absolute equality, and is the characteristic of sculpture. Symmetry implies and expresses the lasting, uniform and inorganic; rhythm implies change, the organic, as sculpture deals with animal life. Life manifests itself to our senses in motion, *flow*, and change; life is individual, and the individual consists in a deviation from the absolutely regular. Archaic sculpture was too architectural, and in the regularity of its figures it counteracted all appearance of individuality, and the statues did not produce the effect of vitality. It expressed symmetry to the exclusion of rhythm. The innovation of Pythagoras was, that he added this flowing, irregular element to art, and thereby contributed to the appearance of vitality. But he kept within the bounds of what is pleasing to the human eye, which demands a certain regularity; and though he furthered rhythm, he did not do it to the exclusion of symmetry. While infusing the greatest life into his statues, he kept within the bounds of what we should call plastic *composition*, in which certain elements of living nature are eliminated, others accentuated, and all are bound together by the unity of form. This harmony between life and form is the most characteristic feature of Greek art.

Now within this general definition of rhythm and its relation to symmetry, we can distinguish several stages:

a. Vitality is in the first place given to the statue by means of the *continuous flow* of the surface. Each smallest part of the surface in a good statue must have the semblance of moving and vibrating like the skin of a real body, which never presents a geometrically straight

[1] VIII. 46.

[2] Nothing that has since been said by the critics of this article as to my use of the word rhythm in sculpture has at all altered my conviction. On the contrary, I have become more convinced that in poetry as well as in sculpture the function of rhythm in contradistinction to metre is to give this *varied life and flow*.

line, but is a *continuous* succession of elevations and recessions, arsis and thesis—that is, it flows. Vitality must, as it were, stream into the clay through the fingers of the modelling artist. The difference in this respect between Greek works and Roman copies that were made to order like mechanical ware will illustrate the difference between a statue possessed of this vitality of texture and one which is wanting in this first requisite. The statue we are dealing with, though a copy from the bronze original, is still an excellent Greek copy. Each part of the surface is carefully and thoroughly executed, and the difference in texture between the hair, the skin, and the stem of the tree is clearly indicated. To attain this effect, besides the feeling of form which must be inherent in the artist, much and intense work is needed. Hasty modelling (unless it is meant to be a sketch) can never convey vitality. The same holds good in all arts. The organic quality, the continuity of composition in literary work can only be attained when the subject has been thoroughly and for a long while revolved in the brain of the author, or has been modelled and remodelled during the process of fixing it on paper. But the texture of the surface varies in appearance in accordance with what is below it, which it covers. As it covers bone or muscle or softer material, so will its appearance be different. This difference the sculptor must indicate by means of modelling, he must look deeper than the mere superficial appearance to what anatomically lies below, as the cause of the phenomenal difference. But in poor work the muscles, joints, &c., are indicated by means of simple elevations that do not gradually rise and fall, are not intermediated—they seem *put together;* while in good work the transition is gradual, the lines are not torn asunder—all *flows together*, as in nature. An excellent instance of this is furnished by our statue, the earliest statue in which we notice this quality. Finally, each distinct part of the body has a character of its own: an arm, a leg, the neck—all have a distinguishable character in their form and texture from the torso itself, and this difference of appearance must be rendered in a good statue. The artists who made the earliest works which have come down to us could not do this. What Pliny says of Pythagoras, that he was the first clearly to express sinews and veins, and that he rendered hair more carefully, is an incomplete way (by enumeration of a few attributes for the essence of the thing) of expressing, that Pythagoras was the first to infuse vitality into his statues by means of the indication of natural texture in the surface of the human body. And this is the first stage in the realisation of plastic ῥυθμός.

b. Rhythm, the organic quality of a work of sculpture, is further-

more to be found in the relation which subsists between the parts of the body among each other and between the parts and the body as a whole. Here symmetry begins to be manifestly and organically connected with rhythm. In the first place, no part must be out of proportion with the whole. The leg must be of a certain dimension in proportion to the arm, the neck of a certain thickness and length in comparison to the width of the shoulders, &c., and all members must bear a certain relation to the size and physical character of the whole figure. But in the second place this well-proportioned figure must not appear architectural, but must impress us with the life which is essential to the animal organism which it represents. Such life manifests itself to us in the moving power of the organism. An architectural edifice must above all impress us with its immovability; its power of lasting and remaining unchanged. This quality becomes manifest to our senses, *e.g.* in that the columns are all parallel and of equal height, so that the roof rests firmly on them. But movement in nature, physical motion, is a deviation from this absolute regularity and sameness; it is not represented by a straight line, but a spiral, wavy line—it *flows*. We notice this throughout nature; in its grosser appearance it is the system of *alternation*. A diagram of the succession of the branches of a tree shows us a spiral growth. Animals and human beings in walking move their legs alternately; nay, in walking we move the arm and the corresponding leg in an opposed direction, and this very opposition between the upper and lower half of our body is one of the chief causes of progression in walking. Now the archaic statues of a date before our athlete have both legs firmly planted, the one before the other, and the body is equally balanced between the two. It is the same principle as that which subsists in the columns in architecture, and this adds to the impression of lifelessness which these early works convey to us; they do not suggest movement. In our statue, however, the weight is thrown upon the right leg, while the left leg is comparatively unfreighted. This is the plastic rhythm which has been introduced into this work, and has superseded the autocracy of architectural symmetry which reigned supreme previous to this epoch. This gives the statue the potentiality of moving, and actually gives it the appearance of inner movement to and fro, and from one leg to the other (as in the indication of texture the skin seems to vibrate), while the restful firm position on the one leg gives the monumental quiet which works of sculpture need. We shall presently see how this position of the legs in connexion with the attitude of the upper part of the body serves to give expression to a still higher stage of rhythm. The Germans express this in distinguishing

between *Standbein* and *Spielbein*, the leg of rest and the leg of play; and it was generally believed, from a note in Pliny that this was an innovation of Polykleitos. But this cannot possibly be so; for the violently moving figures of Myron, and even the Aeginetan marbles, are a stage further in the expression of motion. And yet, when Pliny says of Polykleitos, *Proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse*[1], there must be some meaning and truth in what he says, though again we need here not conceive this as if literally for the very first time such a thing had been done, but as habitually, with full consciousness and accentuation. It is clear that some innovation must have been introduced. The mere resting on one leg it cannot mean. As is so frequently the case, the monuments lead us to the correct interpretation of the literary passage. All the numerous replicas of the Doryphoros and Diadumenos of Polykleitos represent the figure as striding forward. The one leg is placed forward, while the other, merely touching the ground with the toes, is dragged behind. This is no doubt a step in advance in the expression of motion, and is much more '*uno crure* insistere,' than in our statue, where the left leg, though relatively free, still fully touches the ground and bears some part of the weight. Michaelis[2], I am pleased to find, has given exactly the same interpretation to this passage.

c. The third stage, in which rhythm and vitality are expressed in statues, is in the harmony between all parts and the uniform physical character and the situation of the figure. This would be, for instance, if all the parts united to convey the impression of a strong or a weak man in relaxation or exertion. This statue of a pugilist must represent a strong man, and so each part of the body is in keeping with this salient feature; an arm or leg, or a foot found alone could immediately be identified as belonging to a strong man. But it is in the way in which the parts combine to one attitude that the special nature of this athlete is expressed. He stands firmly, and we almost feel how he presses the ground with his right foot; and this is indicated in the way in which the muscle above the knee stands forth markedly, and the ankle is curved,—he is pressing back the knee. The muscles of the calf are also strongly pronounced. The shoulders are pressed back in the position of the ephedros, while the chest is pressed forward. The more the chest is pressed forward, the more must the lower part of the

[1] *N. H.* XXXIV. 56.

[2] *Annali dell' Instit.* 1878, pp. 28 and 29. Cf. Blümner in *Rhein. Museum*, Vol. XXXII. p. 593, and Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, p. 131.

back and the spine recede. This position, however, if we stand equally on both feet, becomes stiff and unnatural; but the exertion of the upper part of the body is compensated as soon as we throw the weight more on one leg[1]. This compensation of rhythm is carried still further in what may be called 'crossed rhythm' (χιασμός), to which Brunn has drawn attention in his recent article on a 'Tipo statuario di atleta[2].' This rhythmic compensation becomes still more evident in the fact that, while below the waist the balance of our figure dips towards the right, that of the parts above draws towards the left. The palm-branch he held in his hand no doubt added to this effect, and counteracted the heaviness in composition produced on the right side below by the tree-stem. Were we to imitate an orator projecting his left hand, we should naturally throw the weight of the body on the right leg. This is in figures in rest. In actual movement in a forward direction, the right arm will recede while the right foot advances, and *vice versâ*. This, as Brunn has pointed out, is not to be found in the earliest works. We meet this expression of rhythm for the first time in our statue. How far Pythagoras had advanced in rhythmical expression becomes evident when Pliny[3] tells us that the spectator almost felt the pain of the 'limping one' (Philoctetes) by Pythagoras. But this merely means physical pain, and not moral grief. And here we have the limit of the artistic powers of Pythagoras.

There are still higher stages in the development of plastic rhythm[4], to which Pythagoras did not attain; but these belong to a later period. They are the expression of *moral* character and individual mood in plastic rhythm.

The statue of the pugilist which we have been considering affords the best illustration for the various stages of rhythm, so far as we have traced them. At the same time the pleasing outline of the composition, the symmetry of the whole, is blended in harmony with its flowing vitality. And thus the positive evidence also leads us to assign this work to Pythagoras.

If, finally, we look amongst the recorded works of this sculptor for

[1] It is most important for one who studies these questions to imitate himself the position of statues. In many cases this is the simplest method of recognising how a statue must have been, which we see in a very fragmentary condition.

[2] *Annali*, 1879, p. 201, *seqq.*

[3] XXXIV. 59. 'Syracusis autem claudicantem, cujus ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur.' Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, &c. No. 499.

[4] The completion of the examination of this most important factor of plastic art I must defer to a special inquiry on rhythm.

one which corresponds to this statue, we find that we can, with the greatest hypothetical probability, consider this a copy of the statue of the pugilist Euthymos[1], which Pausanias considered so worthy of admiration; we know that this statue existed in many copies.

To account for the great strength of very famous athletes, the Greeks in several instances ascribed to them divine origin. So the Thasians maintained that Herakles took the form of the father of the famous athlete Theagenes[2] and begot him. Euthymos[3] was reputed to be the son of the river-god Kaekinos. After death they became heroes: so the pugilists Kleomedes[4], Theagenes, and Euthymos. They were then adored, as was natural, as a kind of minor gods who bestowed physical strength upon their adorers. Their statues were placed all over the country, at the roadsides, in public places, and in the gymnasia. Pausanias says of Theagenes: 'I also know that statues of Theagenes are erected in many places within and beyond Greece, and that he heals sicknesses and receives adoration as a god. The statue which he has in the Altis is by Glaukias of Aegina.' I think it not improbable that the so-called Strangford 'Apollo[5],' which is doubtless

[1] Since the above was written Mr. Percy Gardner has drawn my attention to an inscription from a base at Olympia, published by E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxvi. p. 83. This base belonged to the statue of Euthymos:

Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀντικλέους τρὶς Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων,
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.
Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

Dr. Weil mentions a cavity on the top of the base, 0,41 metres in length, probably admitting a plinth. If anything could be ascertained with regard to the position of the feet of the statue that stood on this pedestal, my hypothesis would be finally verified or disproved. Pythagoras here calls himself a Samian. Pliny (xxxiv. 60) is the only author who makes two persons of the Samian and Rhegian. Urlichs has shown some time ago (*Chrestomathia Pliniana*, p. 320) that Pythagoras belonged to the Samian emigrants who were induced by Anaxilas the tyrant of Rhegion to settle in Zankle (subsequently called Messana). This town came under the sway of Anaxilas, and so Pythagoras could naturally call himself a Samian or a Rhegian. This may have induced a Syracusan comic writer to make a jest of 'the two persons who looked so very much alike,' and this was probably the source from which Pliny gathered his information regarding the two sculptors and the striking resemblance between them.

[2] Paus. VI. 11.

[3] Paus. VI. 6.

[4] Paus. VI. 9.

[5] Said to come from the island of Anaphe.—Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, London, 1880, p. 81.

an athlete, and in the style of work corresponds exactly to archaic Aeginetan art of the time of Glaukias, may be a copy of the statue of Theagenes. Now Euthymos is held in equal honour. Fabulous feats, such as the expulsion of the Black Spirit who haunted Temessa (or Thempsa), are ascribed to him. Pausanias also saw an illustration of this feat on the *copy* of a painting. 'He arrived at a very advanced age (so Pausanias proceeds), and left this earth, without dying, in a peculiar manner.' He was worshipped as a hero, and, as we know from a passage in Pliny, there must have been many copies of his statue scattered about, for Pliny tells us of two that were struck by lightning on the same day[1].

All these circumstances make it highly probable that the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, together with the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos and the other replicas of this statue, are copies of the statue of the pugilist Euthymos by Pythagoras of Rhegion.

In the beginning of this inquiry I pointed to the fact that before Greek art could arrive at the height in which at Athens Pheidias infused with ideal forms the figures which he rendered true to nature, perfection in the technical handling of the material had to precede. The history of archaic art in Greece is the history of the struggle of the artistic spirit with the reluctant material, and its final victory over it. Now if we consider the sculptor Pythagoras in this connexion we find that he holds the most prominent position in the consummation of this end. The earliest works are architectural, to the exclusion of vitality. And the struggle will now be for a combination of vitality and regularity of form in the full harmony of the organic body. But the progression was not simple; we find extreme action in one direction, and reaction back to another. And yet the whole movement is progressive. Greek art was not like Oriental art in clinging to fixed forms. The Greeks clung to nature, and learnt from her. In the seated figures of the Branchidæ from the Sacred Way near Miletus we have this want of vitality, and the extreme reaction to a formless attempt at imitating nature sets in in works like the earlier metopes from the temple of Selinus. In Athens there will be this harmony; but the Athenian spirit, with its keen sense for movement and vitality, will transgress the bounds of the

[1] *N. H.* vii. 152. 'Consecratus est vivos sentiensque eiusdem oraculi iussu et Iovis deorum summi adstipulatu Euthymus pycta, semper Olympiae victor et semel victus. Patria ei Locri in Italia. Ibi imaginem eius et Olympiae alteram eodem die tactam fulmine Callimachum ut nihil aliud miratum video,' &c. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 494.

law of form which we notice in the dry and stern figures of early Peloponnesian reliefs. And so, though a keen sense for rhythm and texture is already manifest in the archaic seated Athene on the Acropolis, still there is an absence of the stern regularity which exists in archaic Peloponnesian work to the exclusion of vitality. The Athenian spirit for rhythm will have to be transfused with the Peloponnesian spirit for symmetry. Symmetry and rhythm were first combined by Pythagoras of Rhegion, and it is more than mere chance that Rhegion, originally a Chalcidian settlement, received a large body of Messenians at the close of the Messenian war, and that the teacher of Pythagoras held Peloponnesian traditions in his art. No fitter person could have effectuated this final step. But Pythagoras was not universal. He did not excel in rendering the female figure, and though he was proficient in the correct modelling of the form and the manifestation of masculine strength, he was wanting in the power to give expression to grace and sweetness. The female form and the treatment of drapery were also neglected by him. This gap was filled by Kalamis. Now the soil is prepared for the richest fruit. But again the restless Athenian spirit is about to transgress in the direction of rhythm, to the detriment of symmetry, in the *distorta* and *elaborata* (as Quintilian would call them) figures of Myron. But the artistic tact and the power and genius of Pheidias are a safeguard against any violent reaction, and the highest period of artistic manifestation is arrived at, in which great and beautiful ideas and natural and pleasing forms are united in the harmony of one work of art.

Second Article.

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I.

Since I last wrote on the subject of Pythagoras of Rhegion in this Journal[1], much evidence has accumulated to verify what was then brought forward in a more or less hypothetical form. I was greatly encouraged to carry on this research by the sympathetic criticism of archaeologists both published and privately communicated, but all, with one slight exception, evidently written with the view of facilitating an increase of information, of advancing the common object—the study of classical archaeology. Among the published criticisms, I have received the greatest stimulus to continue my research from the reports[2] of a lecture delivered by Professor C. T. Newton at University College, London, in January of this year; and, among the unpublished, a letter from Professor Michaelis with a full and detailed criticism; while the fact that in the Berlin Museum of Casts the 'Apollo' is now entirely severed from the 'Omphalos,' and that in the new catalogue[3] of the Museum of Casts at Munich the words 'nicht zugehörigen' are inserted into the phrase 'Apollo auf dem Omphalos', is the most important of confirmations I have received from without: for it was the possible, and formerly firmly maintained, association of the statue with the omphalos as its base that I felt to be the only *positive evidence* against my hypothetical assumption. Since this was first published Professor Overbeck in the new edition of his *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik* (3rd edit. Vol. II. p. 414) has fully accepted all that I maintained in this and the previous article on this subject. In holding that certain statues are not to be ascribed to Pasiteles he says: "nor the *so-called* Apollo on the Omphalos and the replicas of the same, concerning which, moreover, it has recently been proved *beyond a doubt* that they do not represent Apollo, but an athlete, and perhaps go back to the statue of Euthymos by Pythagoras of Rhegion[4]."

[1] No. I. pp. 168-201.

[2] The *Times* of January 10th, and fuller in the *Builder* of the same week.

[3] *Kurzes Verzeichniss des Museums von Gypsabgüssen, Klass. Bildwerke in München*, No. 218, B.

[4] *.....oder dem s.g. Apollon auf dem Omphalos und seinen Wiederholungen offenbart, von welchen letzteren übrigens neuerdings mit Sicherheit erwiesen ist, dass sie nicht Apollon, sondern einen Athleten darstellen und vielleicht auf die Statue des Euthymos von Pythagoras von Rhegion zurückgehen.*

Still, it will ever remain a most difficult task to convey to others, with anything like adequate convincing power, the actual weight of an inner conviction which has *grown* gradually in time, passing through many stages of individual confirmation, and confirmation, moreover, which often came from quarters where the facts seemed at first to run counter to it. Such inner workings of the mind which lead to conviction cannot, from their very organic quality, be imparted fully and at once to others, even if they are not previously biassed in having formed differing opinions on the same subject. It is like attempting to transfer to a third person the faith one has in a friend, which has arisen almost unconsciously with the first touch of sympathy, has grown with long acquaintance, and has become fixed and fastened by his actions under the most varying circumstances. Such an organism of faith and well-founded inner feeling cannot be taken asunder into words and reunited together in half-an-hour's conversation, so that it will present a new organism with all the life which growth in time and under favouring circumstances has given it. To continue the simile: it is in some cases only the specialist who has the means of forming so intimate an acquaintance with certain questions of his study, it is only he who lives in that atmosphere in which he can see the subtle bearing of each smallest manifestation upon the particular question and can feel and appreciate the relation it holds to the whole—as the friend can see the weight of each trivial action in the light of the whole character of his friend. But science cannot heed the inner workings of the mind of even the greatest of its special professors, it cannot attach any weight to the feelings of the researcher—so long as they remain feelings. It is one of the great tasks of the man of science to study, to recognise, and to enumerate the causes of his belief, recognise and impart the origin of his feelings. He must, by his method of exposition, force the reader to make the synthesis anew, so that he re-creates in the reader the conviction which before was only in his own mind. But if the exponent is not to depend upon subjective support he can at least claim that the reader be not subjective in the way he receives the evidence. Yet here it is frequently the case that each exoteric reader sets himself against making any attempt at combining into life the various arguments, but selects from them all one or a group which, by experience or disposition, lies nearest to him, and bases upon this his acceptance or rejection of an hypothesis. The nature of an hypothesis, however, generally is that it does not originate from or wholly depend upon one argument only, but that the sum of all the reasons together produces that high degree of probability.

In the present case of the identification of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue with Pythagoras of Rhegion, we must also not forget that there is a negative way of testing the tenability of the hypothesis, and we must ask: if not this, what then? The third possibility of entirely withholding our judgment will not hold good. For the statue exists and has been the subject of published discussion (and if it had not it would be high time that it should be); and the notices concerning Pythagoras exist and have been commented upon, and an omission of this important figure in the history of Greek Art would make that history incomplete; it is therefore the duty of archaeologists to fix and make perfect our notions both about the statue and about the sculptor Pythagoras. The question then must be asked: If this statue is not an athlete, what is it? If an Apollo, enumerate the reasons for this belief, and compare them with those in favour of an athlete. For the fact of his having previously been called Apollo, does not, to say the least, make it unnecessary to prove why he is so called. There can be no question of a shifting of the burden of proof in such a case. Priority or antiquity of statement is not, as it may be in the practice of law, equivalent to a certain quantity of evidence which gives it a start in proof before all other claimant propositions. It is this very unconscious inference by analogy which makes people set themselves against a correction of an earlier statement, even though it be manifestly more probable on equal grounds of inquiry. On the contrary, we may say, that the tendency in modern times, ever since the mania for seeing subjects representing scenes from the 'mysteries' which raged even thirty years ago has subsided, has been to rob many an illustration of its divine or religious character, and to bring it much nearer the hearth and human life. Greek art represented much more of the life that was about it than was formerly supposed: the sepulchral slabs have been most instructive in this respect. Many a so-called Apollo and Hermes will have to quit his divine epithet and descend to the character of a simple ephebus or a particular athlete[1].

The question must further be asked: If this statue represents an athlete and is not by Pythagoras, by whom is it? Exception might be taken to the putting of this question; for it may be objected, that it may belong to a sculptor or a school unknown to archaeologists. Yet

[1] But we must also take a warning from the evils of a former 'fashion,' and not, in combating this very exaggeration, run to the other extreme of over-humanising Greek art, of seeing scenes from human life everywhere, and of ignoring the fact that, after all, divinities were the subjects most commonly thought worthy of artistic representation by the Greek artists.

this objection will not hold good, for the host of passages in the numerous authors relating to Greek art make it more than probable that no great sculptor and school have been omitted, and no very celebrated work of such a sculptor. Now, if any *athlete* statue exists in as many replicas as does this statue, one is justified in concluding that it must have been, not only the work of a celebrated sculptor, but also an individual statue of much repute. Then let the answer to both these questions be compared with the reasons for this attribution of the 'pugilist' to Pythagoras of Rhegion on equal grounds, and whichever is weightier let it be considered the better hypothesis, that is, the best explanation of facts about which it is our duty to know something.

But I may hope that with the confirmation now given the subject has been, if not lifted entirely out of the sphere of the probable into the sphere of the certain, yet at least placed so high in probability that it practically is on the very boundary line between these two phases of human knowledge.

II.

It appears from the report of Mr Newton's lecture that he ranges the arguments adduced in the first paper under two heads, those that go to prove that the statue under consideration is not an Apollo, and those that tend to show that it is an athlete and the work of a particular sculptor, Pythagoras. Strange to say, Mr Newton looks with greater favour than I could have possibly expected upon the arguments I have adduced to show that the statue is an athlete and may probably be the work of Pythagoras, yet does not consider that the arguments that go to show that it *is not* an Apollo are so conclusive. Others, however, consider the first part of the paper to prove its point beyond any doubt, while they hesitate to accept the second half. Some archaeologists think I am right in the positive part and wrong in the negative, others, that I am right in the negative and wrong in the positive; so that between the two I am either wholly right or wholly wrong. However, I prefer to accept their joint verdict in so far as *it* is positive.

No evidence has been adduced to show that the conclusions I arrived at in the first paper concerning the typical head-dress of the early athletes, in contradistinction to divinities, were unfounded. These conclusions were based upon a great number of instances of ancient monuments quoted in that paper, and a considerable number which I met with in the various museums of Europe, and which I judged unnecessary to add to the list of evidence. Quite recently again I

have seen several bronzes in the museum at Berlin which entirely bear out my conclusion—nay, even serve to show that for some of the lighter games, such as the throwing of the discus, even long hair floating down the back was worn. A most noteworthy instance of this is the stelé with a diskophoros[1], an archaic monument found under the ruins of the old Themistoclean wall at Athens. At all events, I may say that I have found numerous archaic figures whose attitude, attributes, or (if paintings) environment, evidently show them to be athletes with the hair braided after the manner of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue; while I have not met with a single work with similar hair which, from other reasons, can be shown without a doubt to be an Apollo. It is hardly necessary to say that the enumeration of a number of busts or heads, or ignorantly restored statues, which *have been* called Apollos, can not be used as evidence on either side of the question, especially since the Athenian statue and the Omphalos have been shown to be in no way connected. I have vainly endeavoured to find the first instance in which this type of head has been described in print as that of an Apollo, and which since has fixed it in archaeological literature; and I must attribute it to the habit of early archaeologists to consider every youthful and beardless figure that came to light from the classical world to be an Apollo, as most bearded figures were named Zeus or Jupiter. But as I have before said, the prolonged continuance of a proposition put forth in a period when archaeology was comparatively in its infancy cannot be a claim to more ready acceptance. To show that this type of head is that of an Apollo, it will be necessary to adduce at least as many figures undoubtedly Apollos with this arrangement of hair as I have enumerated instances of undoubted athletes. And this will be especially called for in an instance in which we have to deal with that marked illustration of bodily strength and with that peculiar athletic attitude which is found in the Choiseul-Gouffier statue.

I may here say that an anatomist of wide reputation, commenting upon the development of the pectoral muscles and the whole of the upper part of the body of the London statue, quite recently expressed his opinion that there could be no doubt of the intention of the sculptor to accentuate the strength of the man, especially in the upper part of the body.

I must confess I was astonished to find that no notice was taken by my critics of one of the most important arguments, namely, the connexion between the attitude of the statue and the ever-recurring typical position of the *ephedros* in the athletic contests. The Greeks

[1] Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griech. Plastik*, 3rd ed., Vol. I. p. 152.

had a firmly founded system of exercise and drill in the Palaestra for each special game, and this drill included numerous typical attitudes for each individual contest and the various stages of each contest. This drill, which amounted to sham fight, was called by them σκιαμαχία. Now, on innumerable vases we find, besides the judge and the two combatants, a third pugilist or pancratiast waiting for his turn in a constant and peculiar position, which was, we may say, 'attitude No. 1, before the fight.' The same is the case in boxing in our days, and still more in fencing. This preliminary position, moreover, with the arms and shoulders drawn back and the chest protruding, is a most rational one to the Greek's artistic eye, for it tells its story clearly; the most important part of such a man's body, where his strength chiefly lies, is the chest, arms, and shoulders. These *typical* positions in the σκιαμαχία were the most ready subjects for the Greek sculptor, who chiefly made his studies in the Palaestra; and, as a matter of fact, the great number of monuments, statues, vases, figures, &c., representing the throwing of the discus that are extant, could readily, and with great profit, be used to show all the various stages of procedure in this game, from its preparation to the expectant attitude of the thrower after the discus has left his hand. Myron chose the moment of highest tension and of complex contortion in his representation of a discobolos, and we know from the notices of ancient authors that this suited his peculiar artistic nature, which delighted in the expression of extreme vitality. If he were to have represented the pugilist it is likely that like some later artists he would have chosen from the various postures of the σκιαμαχία an attitude of actual engagement expressive of intense exertion. Not so the earlier artists and those of a more moderate and noble taste for what is most suitable for reproduction in sculpture. They would with preference choose the monumental attitude of the preliminary posture in the pugilistic contest, that of the *Ephedros*, as we see him on almost every vase representing a πυγμή, and as we see him in this statue in the British Museum.

Professor Michaelis asks in his letter that I should explain to him the adjunct to the tree stump in front of the strap and the two *puntelli* above it, before he is prepared to accept my interpretation of the statue. Yet if I have shown that the strap on the stem is decidedly a *himas*, this evidence is not nullified by my incapacity to explain the other adjuncts. One thing is certain, that the projection in front of the strap is *not* the extremity of the lyre of an Apollo nor of any Apollinian attribute that I can think of. Mr. Newton confirms the athletic character of the attributes in holding this projection to be a plait. This

may be so, though it is not very distinct. Yet if it is a broad plait or network the question still remains, what purpose it served? And if I am bound to make some conjecture on the matter, I should with all caution draw the attention of archaeologists towards many vases with athletic scenes on which athletes carry their athletic implements (strigil, flask, &c.) in small nets very similar to those used for lawn-tennis balls with us. In some cases these nets are represented as hanging on the wall together with other similar objects, and their pointed ends may bear some similarity with the end of this plaited adjunct. However, I must say,

FIG. 20. Top of the tree-stump from the statue in the British Museum.

that it is not unlikely that this rough surface is meant rudely to indicate the bark of the knotty branch there chopped off, as the peculiar appearance at the bottom of the stem has no attributive meaning, but is merely an indication of a form continually to be met with in trees when the bark has split in places and a thick seam incloses the wound (if we may call it so) in the process of growth. The same applies to the first of the *puntelli* alluded to by Michaelis. This is simply the stump of the lopped off branch. Similar projections can be seen on almost every

tree-stump of the numerous statues that have them. I am very grateful to Professor Michaelis for having led me to examine more closely the uppermost of these small projections (Fig. 20). For I believe that the outline of the thumb which was broken away is distinctly visible on the fracture. The measurements of the arm show that the hand would reach to the top of the tree-stump. The action of the right arm would then be most natural. Similar to the *ephedros* on the vase published by Gerhard[1], this athlete would hold the himas passing

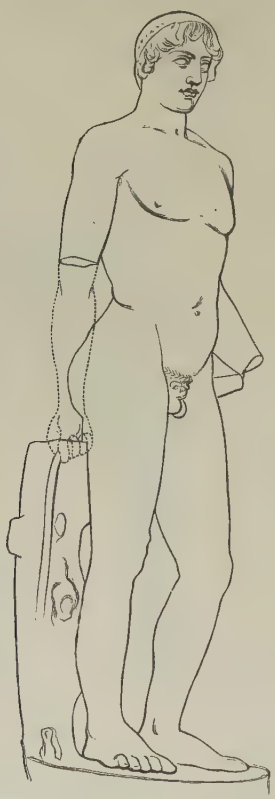

FIG. 21. Outline of the statue with right arm and hand restored.

through one hand between the thumb and palm over the first joint of the forefinger, and hanging down the side of the tree. The hand would thus be touching the edge of the stump. Thus, closing his hand through which a strap is suspended the thumb in a perpendicular

[1] *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii.

position crossing the horizontal though upturned forefinger, will project downwards beyond the other fingers, the forefinger again projects downwards over the middle finger, the middle over the third, and so on. If the hand is turned up and examined, it presents the picture of four steps leading up to a pinnacle severed from the last by a small breadth. Now, above, and somewhat behind this fracture of the thumb, a small piece is broken away from the top of the stem proper, which would well correspond to the place where the forefinger rested on the trunk. The remainder of the hand would have been free. The nature of the fractures will well bear out this assumption, and this becomes still more probable when we bear in mind that as the himas does not hang over a branch it must have been held in some way by the athlete.

When once guided by the nature of the fractures on the tree-stump we have made this restoration, the position becomes most natural, in fact, the only possible one. The somewhat inadequate sketch (Fig. 21) will serve to illustrate this position. The arm could not have been further forward or else the shoulder would follow, while it is strongly drawn backward. The nature of the relaxed muscles of the upper arm as it is extant, show that the forearm must have gone down to the stump; or else the biceps would be contracted. If one imitates this natural position, one would immediately feel by "experiment" as it were, that this is the real position of a figure in such an attitude with regard to the upper part of the body.

That this statue is that of an athlete, and more especially a pugilist, is finally confirmed when we compare it with the marble statue of the pugilist formerly in the Palazzo Gentili, and now in the Palazzo Albani (Fig. 22). I have previously noticed this work and quoted it from Clarac, yet the outline drawing was so incomplete that its important bearing upon our question was not evident to me. The similarity of attitude in the character of chest and shoulders down to the position of the feet is quite evident upon comparison. Professor v. Duhn has very kindly sent me the proof-sheets of his new edition of Matz's *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, which contains a careful notice of all accessible monuments in the private collections in Rome, and it is from him that I have learned its present position: for it is published[1]

[1] Cf. Matz, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, new ed. p. 319; Ficoroni, *Breve descriz. di tre particolari statue scopertesi in Roma, l'anno* 1739, viii., &c.; also in *Raccolta d' opuscoli scientif. e filolog. pubbl. da* A. Calogierà, Vol. XXII., 491—506, Venezia 1740; Fea, *Misc.* I. CXXXV. 57, and, *Singolarita di Roma Moderna*, 61; Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, LXVIII. 3; *Clarac*, Pl. 858 D no. 2187 A.

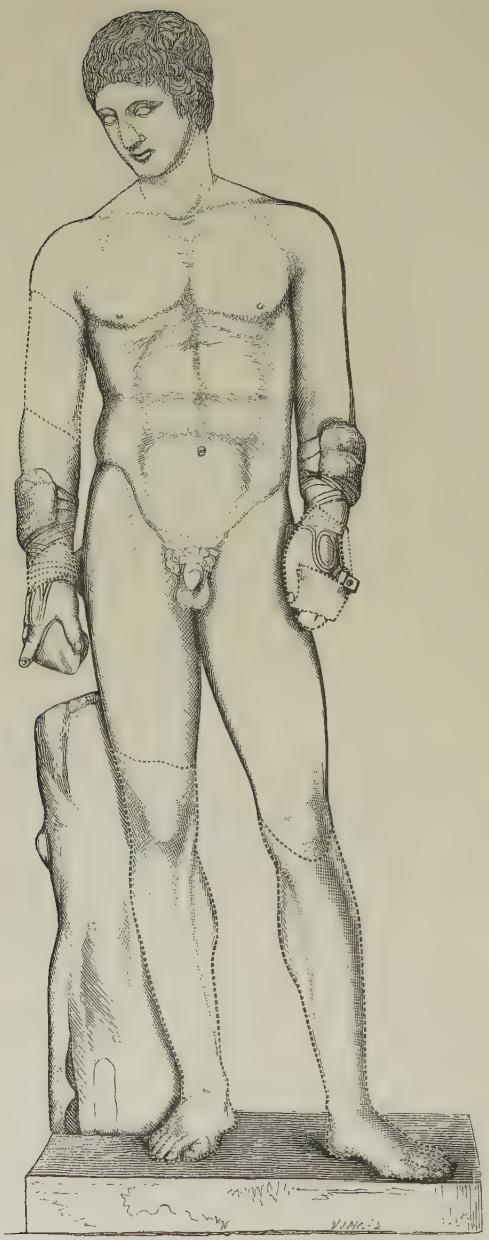

FIG. 22. Statue of a Pugilist now in the Palazzo Albani, Rome.

as being in the Palazzo Gentili. We here have the typical position of the pugilist, and, what is most important is that, though a great deal of the statue is restored [1], the right forearm, with a part of the *caestus* and joining puntello, is original[2]. This statue is no doubt of later date than those we are dealing with, yet it is a modified adaptation of the same athletic type. And though there may not be any similarity in the details of style and of modelling, there is something more than similarity in the subject represented: there may be a difference in 'the how' he is represented, but there is no difference in 'the what' is represented. The relation between the style of these two pugilists, if there is any, is of no concern to us; but for the present the Gentili pugilist finally shows that the statues in the British Museum, the Patissia Museum at Athens, &c., formerly called the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, the Apollo on the Omphalos, &c., are not Apollos, but pugilists.

III.

I MAY hope to have proved definitely that the statue in question is that of a pugilist. The second point, the attribution of this work to Pythagoras of Rhegion has received further confirmation since it was first put in a hypothetical form. It will readily be seen that the fact that this statue represents a pugilist greatly adds to the probability of its proposed attribution. For, among the sculptors before Pheidias, there is no other to whom such a work could be attributed, while Pythagoras of Rhegion was a sculptor of athlete statues *par excellence*, among which that of a heroified pugilist, Euthymos, was most celebrated and frequently copied. Moreover this sculptor, according to the ancients, was 'the first' to express sinews and veins and to aim at the expression of rhythm and symmetry in his works.

It is inconceivable how the 'archaising' mania should have impaired

[1] The restoration was made for the Marchesa Gentili by Vincenzo Pacetti between 1770 and 1775. *Mem. Enciclop.* III., 85. It is not quite certain whether the antique head belongs to this statue or not. In it are restored the nose and a piece of the left eyebrow. Further restorations are: the neck, the left hand, right upper arm, and right hand (the fore-arm, with puntello, is original), and both legs, the right from above the knee down, the left from below the knee, also trunk and base. Cf. v. Duhn, Matz, *l.c.* The restorations are marked with dotted lines in our engraving.

[2] I have since found a small bronze in the British Museum the same in type and in attitude, in which the caestus is completely preserved, and which bears out more fully still the evidence concerning the interpretation of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue.

the vision of some archaeologists even with regard to this work, and it can only be explained by a circumstance to which I have previously drawn attention, namely, that the very incongruity of an athlete on an omphalos to which the statue did not properly fit, gave the whole work a want of unity which is the chief characteristic of the later archaising schools, such as that of Pasiteles. I readily take this opportunity of again impressing upon those who have had the great merit to discover a current in the later Greek art which more or less consciously strove towards the reproduction of remote and even conventional styles, that in all the work of the later copyists there is the unavoidable tendency towards introducing the innovations of their contemporary art. This tendency may be called modernising, and its involuntary influence upon the *bonâ fide* copy of a work remote in antiquity, would readily produce an effect in some respects similar to that of a new creation with a conscious attempt at reproducing the characteristics of an early art. There is nothing severely archaic in this work, no evident attempt at reproducing the imperfections of an artistic technique which is in its infancy, except perhaps the exaggeration and clumsiness of the indication of veins, and this is a most important positive argument in favour of our attribution. The general modelling in all the parts of the surface is not inferior to the composition of the whole figure The germs of the very highest power of representing the surface of the human body in its full vitality, the naturalness of the pose, the combination of each member with the main body, while, on the other hand, a certain simplicity, almost severity, still binds this posture, and is more evidently cast over the face—all this points most definitely towards that period of transition from quaint archaism to the highest freedom of Pheidiac art. This mixture of freedom with traces of constraint and unobtrusive severity similarly marks the period of transition in the history of Italian painting; and the unprejudiced exclamation of the modern painter upon seeing the London statue '*Mantegna*,' was a great confirmation of the conclusion towards which I had been driven through so many definite reasons. Should this statue appear too free in its style for a work of Pythagoras, I would direct the attention of the archaeologist to the Aegina marbles, and remind him of the fact that they are contemporary, and that the ἐργασία Αἰγιναία was considered hard in style by the ancients[1]; and I would beg him to examine the *extreme* freedom of the works of Myron, who was but a

[1] Paus. v. 25, 12; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* XII. 10, 7, 'duriora et Tuscanicis proxima Callon atque Hegesias, iam minus rigida Calamis,' &c. Cf. Overbeck, *Sq.* pp. 81 and 82.

few years younger than Pythagoras, and who was vanquished by his senior with the Delphic Pancratiast[1]. And if some consider it too archaic, I would recall to their minds that, after all, Pythagoras is not yet Pheidias, nay, that he is, in the midst of this transition, one of its most powerful agents; that he is the innovator, as is evident from the passages in which he is *primus* and πρῶτος to have added new freedom to his works. And they must furthermore bear in mind that the idea of constraint which was suggested to them by the back-drawn shoulders bearing some similarity to the cramped position of some very archaic works, and in which Köhler[2] saw the marked archaism of the figure, has a definite intended meaning in the representation of a pugilist-ephedros, and cannot therefore be compared to the stiffness which is the result of the early artist's incapacity to represent the easy, natural 'flow of life.' The question must be asked, How did archaeologists conceive a statue by Pythagoras? And here it was most interesting to me to learn from the letter of Professor Michaelis that he had formerly thought of this very statue as an illustration of the art of Pythagoras, and had even mentioned this in some of his lectures. It is not unlikely that the appearance of Conze's essay on 'The Apollo on the Omphalos' made him desist from prosecuting his research in this direction.

The mischievous archaising theory must be dropped in connexion with this statue. Its origin can be very easily accounted for: No instance of the work of the important sculptor, Pythagoras, had as yet been put forth, even hypothetically; therefore any instance of his work must be new to our eyes; and what is new and unwonted is strange; and strangeness is the chief characteristic of the work of the archaising schools. A work of Pasiteles has neither wholly the characteristics of early nor of late art, of Attic nor of Peloponnesian art. But the work of Pythagoras is neither Attic nor Peloponnesian, neither typically archaic nor post-Pheidiac, and still it has some of the characteristics of Attic art, so that Conze would attribute it to Kalamis, and many Peloponnesian elements, so that two of my correspondents lead it back to a Polykleitan archetype; and it has slight traces of archaism, so that half the authorities place it before Pheidias, and also elements of great freedom, so that the other half place it in the time of Pasiteles. But what all this uncertainty clearly means is, that we here have to deal with a school, the work of which was not known to us before, and that, in point of time, this 'neither early nor late' means the period of

[1] Plin. xxxiv. 59, 8.

[2] As quoted in my first paper.

transition, and the 'neither wholly Attic nor Peloponnesian with elements of both' means a new South Italian school which was sufficiently connected with the great Greek schools to profit by their teaching, and of sufficient independence that one of its sculptors could in important points of artistic advancement be the *primus* and the πρῶτος.

Another very simple but none the less probable origin of the idea that the Apollo on the Omphalos belongs to the late archaising period, is the peculiar proportions of the figure, very tall and with a comparatively small head. Now it is well known that the Polykleitan canon was square and massive, while Lysippus created a new canon in elongating the figure and in diminishing the size of the head. Now as there were unmistakable elements of archaism in our statue, and as the proportions seemed to correspond to the Lysippian canon, the conclusion was a very natural one, that it belonged to a time posterior to Lysippus, yet which strove back to the very earliest periods of art: *i.e.* that it is archaistic. Conze has quoted archaic vases in which these proportions occur; from which he rightly upholds the archaic character of the work. Now because the Lysippian did thus differ from the Polykleitan canon, there is no reason to assume that there were not all kinds of human proportions in sculpture (including some like those of Lysippus) before a *canon* was at all established by Polykleitos. The coin from Selinus (Fig. 23. *c*) to which we shall direct our attention, and which cannot be later than the fifth century, manifests the same proportions (if not even more exaggerated in slimness) as our statue.

I should like to venture upon a wider generalisation which suggests itself to me through these considerations on the development of Greek art. It appears to me that the reactive influence of Greek culture in the colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily upon the life and culture of the mother country has not been sufficiently noticed. A colony which from its origin is in sympathy with the life and aspirations of the mother country, yet is unhampered by the fixed traditions that often act as a check to originality, is pre-formed to introduce and rapidly to live through great reformatory movements. This is true in all periods of history, and in Greece this must have been to some degree the position of Magna Graecia. Among many instances I need merely point to the activity of the philosopher Pythagoras at Croton, an idealistic yet real reform in philosophical theory no less than in social and political life. In art I had always been puzzled by the unique character of the earliest metopes from Selinus, unique alike for their boldness, as also for the evident traces of schooling, so that they are above all the contemporary

works from the rest of Greece. Yet if we consider that the emigrant artist who was one of the party of settlers, though he had received strict schooling at home, worked with a certain freedom when removed from the eye of his master and the school, the mixture in these works will no longer strike us as strange. Such inferences concerning remote antiquity are not more improbable because they happen to conform with the general likelihood of human action even in our own very modern times.

Pythagoras of Rhegion was the very person who, from his hereditary and natural predispositions, could conciliate and bring together the striking characteristics of the great Attic and Peloponnesian schools, which, in archaic art, stood as it were opposed to one another: the strong feeling for vitality, which frequently, from the want of skill in the early artists, transgressed the laws of form and composition, and the Peloponnesian feeling for law and conventional regularity, which, as in the numerous reliefs from Sparta that have come down to us, does not allow the figures to attain the appearance of free vitality. Before these two elements have been well knit together in harmony we have not yet entered the period of artistic freedom. Free from the immediate pressure, from the shackles of any one school, this Rhegian of Samian origin, whose very adopted country was a mixture of both races, whose first master was a Rhegian and the second a Spartan, had all the opportunity to travel and to learn what each school could give, and not enough to be a slave to the idiosyncrasies of either of them. And so Pythagoras became, if not the founder, at least the chief representative of a school of sculpture which must have flourished for some time in the Greek colonies of the south of Italy, and whose numerous remains, found on the spot, have not yet been sufficiently studied with regard to their distinctive features.

An illustration in favour of the uniform character among the works found in the south of Italy will at the same time be the final confirmation I have to offer for the attribution of our statue to Pythagoras of Rhegion. A Didrachm of Metapontum[1], which belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents the river-god Achelous with a human body and a bearded head, which has the horns and ears of a bull (a combination of a man and a bull is a common representation of a river-god). He holds in his right hand a patera,

[1] Millingen, *Considérations sur les Monnaies de l'Ancienne Italie, &c. Notices des Monnaies gravées, &c., suppl.* P. 5, Pl. i. No. 1; Sambon, *Recherches sur les Monnaies de la Presqu'île Italique, &c.*, Naples, 1870, p. 264, Nos. 13 and 14, Pl. xix. 7 and 9; Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1862, t. 168, 4, p. 321.

and in his left the branch of some tree. A coin from Pandosia in Bruttium[1] has on the obverse a female head with inscription, ΓΑΝΔΟΣΙΑ, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and on the reverse a youth holding in his right a patera or a wreath, and in his left a laurel branch; the inscription is ΚΡΑΘΙ. The date of this coin is placed at about 430 B.C. Finally, the most important of all for comparison with our statue is the coin from Selinus, before mentioned (Fig. 23. *c*), whose similarity in attitude, proportions, indication of muscles down to the headdress, is most evident[2]. It may be difficult for many[3] to compare properly a figure on a small coin rubbed and effaced by age with a more than over life-size statue with regard to the similarity of both. The points of difference between the two will be so striking that they will monopolise attention to the detriment of any claims to similarity to one who has but a small number of instances which would give him a scale of relative difference. But to a specialist, or one at all conversant with the comparative study of this class of objects, the similarity of the general type, of the definite attitude and proportions of the body, will be most manifest. I must remind the reader that in the first article (page 340) I suggested as the possible restoration of this statue a palm branch in his left hand (which would account for the notch on the left leg of both the London and Athenian statues) and a wreath in his right. Both these accessories were the typical attributes of athletic victors. In this case we must substitute the himas for the wreath. Now, in the river-gods on both these coins, we seem to have the type borrowed by the inferior artist, the die-sinker, from the well-known athlete statues he saw in his own immediate environment. It has been shown in numerous instances[4] that the figures on coins were generally taken from some well-known and celebrated work. But, one might ask, what is the connexion between these river-gods and athletes? The ever-moving, twining and twisting mountain-river of Greece presented itself to the imagination of the Greek as an active and

[1] Sambon, *ibid.*, P. 342, Pl. xxiii. No. 13; *Catalogue of Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.* (edited by R. S. Poole), Italy, p. 370, No. 1.

[2] P. Gardner, *River Worship, &c. Transact. of R. Soc. of Lit.* Vol. XI. p. 173.

[3] Whoever has been called upon for the first time to look through a microscope to notice the likeness between minute structures, will see how much practice it needs to perceive similarity in such instances. I have ever found it more difficult to *teach* people to perceive similarity than difference. Perhaps because the perception of likeness is more a matter of feeling, while difference is more a matter of the intellect.

[4] *e.g.*, the Athenian coins with regard to the reproduction of the Promachos, the Tyrannicides by Kritios Nesiotes, the Eirene with the infant Plutos by Kephisodotos the Elder, &c.

powerful man, half a beast in his physical strength; and so, in the earlier representations, he is generally a combination of man and snake, or man and bull, from his twining movement and his roaring rush. On innumerable vases there are scenes in which heroes wrestle with river-gods, the prototype of which contest is the wrestling between Herakles and this very Acheloos[1]. They are the fathers of great heroes and athletes, and the very pugilist Euthymos was made the son of the local river-god Kekynos[2]. But especially important is their connexion with the athletic games which they no doubt localised, and of which they shared the honour. The hair of the youths, upon their entry into manhood, is offered them[3]. At Olympia the victor honours the Alpheios[4] along with the twelve great gods, among whom he also has his altar[5]. Now, as the great Olympian games were a chronological landmark for the whole of Greece, so the local games would be for smaller districts, and this would be a definite time to strike coins. Mr. Head has made to me a very ingenious suggestion, that in connexion with these games there was also a kind of fair, where, all the neighbouring people streaming together, considerable commerce was carried on, and thus there would be a call for money and a natural time to strike it. This would be the purport of the Ἀχελῴου ἆθλον on one of the Metapontine coins. The river-gods were represented either as old or young, generally with some relation to the size of the river. On the coin of Pandosia the river Krathis is a young man, so also on the Selinus coin. Now when the die-sinker desired to represent a young river-god in an athletic connexion, he would naturally, to some extent, rely upon some famous statue of an artist of repute within his country. What is more, all these 'guilds' of the higher or smaller art (though the Greeks never made this distinction, the lesser arts being to them of the highest importance), such as sculptors, painters, and architects on the one hand, and gem-cutters, goldsmiths, vase-painters, and die-sinkers on the other, were all immediately connected. Nay, the same artist very frequently practised several of these together. The figures on the Pandosian and Selinuntine coin are entirely the type of an athlete, so much so that Sambon simply calls the first *un ephèbe*[6]. It will readily be seen what important confirmation for our attribution of the statue to

[1] Soph. *Trach.* 510, &c. Cf. Gardner, *l.c.*
[2] See first paper.
[3] *Il.* XXIII. 142—148, Aesch. *Choeph.* 6, Paus. VIII. 41, 3, &c.
[4] Pind. *Ol.* XI. 48.
[5] Paus. V. 14, 5.
[6] *L.c.*

Pythagoras of Rhegion the similarity of the coin from a neighbouring town in the same province and from a town in the vicinity in Sicily is; for, to put it negatively to those unaccustomed to this study, no other coin from any part of Greece can offer a figure that has anything like the similarity that subsists between this coin and our statue.

[1] The character of nude male figures in coins from the South of Italy and Sicily during this period is generally that of the statues in question. The further study of the coins of Selinus offers the most interesting and striking confirmation of the attribution of this group of statues. On Figure 23 I have placed (*a*) a drawing of the Athenian Pugilist (formerly called Apollo on the Omphalos) beside (*b*) one of the marble copies of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos at the National Museum of Naples; under the Pugilist is (*c*) a coin of Selinus about the middle of the fifth century, and under the Doryphoros is (*d*) the same coin as modified about forty or fifty years later. From this juxta-position we learn the following:

While in the coin *c* the river-god was type of the Pugilist, a marked change takes place in the type of the figure in the subsequent generation to which coin *d* belongs. The following modifications take place: the proportions of the figure are altered, the body is made shorter, the shoulders and the whole figure squarer, the head grows larger. Furthermore the attitude is altered: the weight is placed completely on the right leg, the left being drawn back, the branch from having been held down is turned upwards and is carried more like a spear. In other words it becomes more a *quadratum signum*, it rests more upon one leg (*uno crure ut insisterent signa*), it assumes the attitude of a spear-bearer, a Doryphoros, all the attributes ascribed by ancient authors to the canon of Polykleitos. And when the coin is thus placed under the statue, the influence of the famous work of this renowned sculptor upon the Selinuntine die-sinker becomes evident. But if the type on the coin has thus been influenced in its later history by a famous athletic type by a well-known Peloponnesian sculptor, it is but reasonable to suppose that the type by which it was previously influenced was also an athletic type of a well-known sculptor of an earlier generation. Myron (specimens of whose works are extant) it cannot be, nor a sculptor of the school of Aegina, nor a work of Kalamis. Now the fact that the famous sculptor of athlete statues in this period, the victorious rival of Myron, was a South Italian by birth, a citizen of a town near Selinus, cannot make it less likely that the die-sinkers would

[1] This paragraph has not appeared in the previous publication of this article.

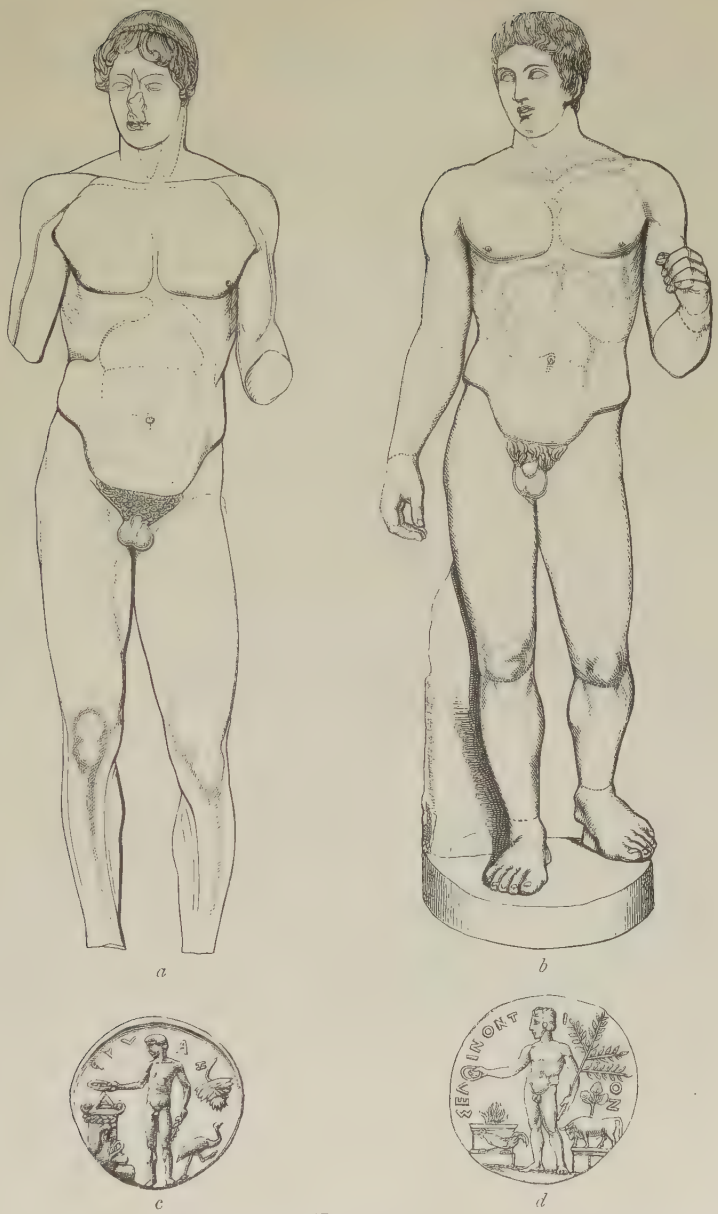

Fig. 23.

a. Statue of Pugilist at Athens.
b. Statue of Doryphoros at Naples.
c. Coin of Selinus about the middle of the 5th cent. B.C.
d. Coin of Selinus about the end of the 5th cent. B.C.

allow themselves to be influenced by the works of Pythagoras of Rhegion in fashioning the type of a nude figure which has a common character in the coins of most of these towns and which is that of the statues with which we are dealing.

Coins, then, have thus helped us to clench our previous arguments. By giving a definite locality, or group of localities, as the home of these mixed characteristics of style, which a study of the monuments themselves and their history had led us to point to as marks of a positive school, well defined though ill recognised as yet, they have enabled us to feel ourselves on safe ground. Let me only add one point more. During the last few months M. Rayet has given us an excellent reproduction of the archaic bronze head at Naples in his *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, Livraison II., referred to in my former paper, p. 331. A more thorough comparison of this head with the head of our statue is called for. I must remind the reader that I have throughout accepted the view that the marbles under consideration are not late and Roman, but early Greek, copies from a bronze original. Now, if our plate of the Choiseul-Gouffier statue is placed beside the plate of the Naples bronze in M. Rayet's book, the extraordinary similarity, almost amounting to identity, will be most evident. I must, moreover, draw attention to the fact that this original bronze head was found at Herculaneum in Southern Italy. But these suggestions open the way to a very wide field, which it is impossible to enter upon now.

Note.

Dr Th. Schreiber has recently dealt with a special point in Greek head-dress in two articles on *Der altattische Krobylos* (*Mittheil. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1883, pp. 246 seq.; 1884, pp. 232 seq.). I cannot enter upon his views here, but it appears to me that his criticisms on my interpretation of the statues of the type of the Choiseul-Gouffier Pugilist are strikingly insufficient; in fact he begs the main question. The statues which he adduces in favour of the Apollo interpretation, such as the one at Kassel, are those that from their head-dress as well as their general character, I should certainly have myself called statues of Apollo.

PLATE XVI. BUST OF HERMES OF PRAXITELES, OLYMPIA

No. II.

PRAXITELES AND THE HERMES WITH THE INFANT DIONYSOS[1].

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PAUSANIAS, in the 16th Chapter of the 5th Book of his Travels in Greece, describes most minutely the Temple of Hera, the Heraion in Olympia. It was a most ancient temple of peculiar construction: Pausanias mentions that one of the pillars was of oak. Once in every Olympiad the sixteen priestesses of Hera offered to the goddess a cloak woven by themselves; a similar custom obtained in Athens, where the

[1] Since this paper has appeared there have been numerous notices of this work in text-books on Greek Art that have appeared within these last few years, such as that of Mr Murray, Mr Perry, and Mrs Mitchell, as well as in the new edition of Overbeck's *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*. In a note to page 38 of this work, Prof. Overbeck takes exception to the parallelism here drawn between the art and age of Praxiteles and the modern romantic period of literature, Shelley, De Musset, Heine. I can only repeat what I have already remarked in answer to his criticism in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. III. p. 98 (foot-note): "Professor Overbeck may possibly be right in considering Heine '*sittlich faul*'; but it may be questioned whether, if he knew as much of Praxiteles, he would not apply the same epithet to him. It may be uncommon for archaeologists to compare the great past with the present, yet on some occasions it is nevertheless the duty of the specialist to translate, as far as truth admits, the dead past into terms of present life." Though the Greek age taken as a whole is directly opposed to the modern romantic period taken as a whole; still when the history of Greek culture is examined in its inner development it has its romantic, nay, even sensational, period as well as its period of grandeur and simplicity. To fail in seeing this marked difference between the spirit of Greek art and culture between the fifth and the middle and end of the fourth century before our era, shows, I believe, a want of sense for the subtler indications contained in Greek works of art and literature, to the possession of which the works of Professor Overbeck have given him undoubted claim.

Besides these general notices there have appeared several special papers on this statue, among which may be mentioned Benndorf, *Vorlegeblätter* &c., Serie A, Vienna, 1879; A. H. Smith, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. III. pp. 81 seq. Wieseler, *Festrede*, &c., Halle, 1880. Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des praxitelischen Hermes*, 1880.

garment was dedicated to Athene Parthenos in the Parthenon. On the occasion of this festival there was a foot-race between the maiden priestesses of Hera, and the victors were crowned with olive and received a share of the cow offered to the goddess. The statue[1] of a maiden in the act of running, clad in a short skirt or chiton, barely reaching the knees, in archaic folds, most probably represents one of these priestesses.

Pausanias mentions, in the 17th Chapter, a number of statues which he remarked in this temple; among others, those of Zeus and Hera. He characterises these two statues as of poor work, and does not mention the artist. After noticing several other statues and giving the names of their sculptors, he mentions another chryselephantine (gold and ivory) group, the names of whose sculptors, however, he declares he does not know. They were, he says, of archaic origin. The Heraion contained many very ancient monuments, such as the chest of Kypselos. He then goes on to state that in later times other statues were dedicated to the temple, such as "a Hermes of stone (marble), carrying the infant Dionysos, a work moreover of Praxiteles."

In the spring of 1877, the German excavators at Olympia came upon a dipteral temple, in which they found columns of unequal construction and style. From this and various other topographical reasons, they concluded, apparently with justice, that they had found the Heraion mentioned by Pausanias.

If by a stretch of sympathy you put yourselves into the place of excavators in the distant Greece and in the lonely valleys of Olympia, burning with scientific ardour, and conscious of the fact that not only the country that sent them, and whose government defrayed the enormous expenses of these excavations, but also the whole of civilised Europe was eagerly watching their proceedings in expectation of great results; and if, furthermore, you bear in mind that the results up to that moment, though considerable, were far below what had been hoped for—then you can adequately figure to yourselves the excitement and joy which thrilled through these men, when in this temple the pick and spade of the diggers cleared away the soil and *débris* of centuries until pure white marble gleamed forth, and gradually the beautiful form of a youthful male figure firmly embedded in the fragments of the wall which had sunk over it, was brought to light (Fig. 24).

The legs below the knee, the right fore-arm, the plinth and parts of the trunk of the tree on which the figure rested, were missing.

[1] Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, III. Tav. 27.

Subsequently, however, fragments of a little child, which evidently was

FIG. 24. Hermes of Praxiteles.

seated on the left arm of this figure, together with some drapery which hung down from the left arm, and other fragments, were found[1]. Behind the statue, which had fallen on its face, a square block was found, between the two pillars, which evidently served as a pedestal for the statue. The face, moreover, and the whole surface is in an unprecedented state of preservation, not a particle of the finely-cut nose injured. Perhaps in falling forward, the right arm, now broken, served to weaken the fall, and so to preserve the face. There could now be no doubt that this was the marble Hermes with the Dionysos-child by Praxiteles, which Pausanias mentions.

Here was a statue which could as undoubtedly be identified with

[1] Since this paper was read a foot of the Hermes with clear traces of gilding and in excellent preservation, as well as the head and upper part of the Dionysos, have been found.

its master, as can the pedimental figures of the Parthenon with Pheidias, the Discobolos with Myron, the group of Laokoon with Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, the Gauls with the Pergamese school; nay, even with greater certainty, for the Parthenon marbles are not from the *hand* of Pheidias, the Discobolus statues and the Gauls are ancient copies, while there has been some debate about the age and school to which the Laokoon group belongs.

It is hardly conceivable, how, despite of all this evidence, there should have been archaeologists who could still doubt. Prof. O. Benndorf, in Lützow's *Zeitschrift* (Vol. XIII. p. 780), points out, that it is not at all certain whether by Praxiteles is meant *the* Praxiteles; and he even finally endeavours to make it probable that the sculptor of the Hermes was a Praxiteles who lived about 300 B.C., a grandson of the famous Praxiteles, and a contemporary of Theocritus and of Theophrastus[1]. It was a common custom for grandsons to bear the names of their grandfathers, and it was a frequent occurrence in Greece that children should inherit the specific talents of their fathers, and adopt their callings in life. Out of a combination of these two facts, Benndorf constructs the following Praxiteles pedigree. Pausanias mentions a Praxiteles as the sculptor of a group of Demeter Kore and Iacchos in Athens, with an inscription in Attic letters which were in use before the time of Euclid (403 B.C.); this sculptor he supposes to be the grandfather of the famous Praxiteles. (Whenever we mean the famous Praxiteles we shall, as is always done in such cases, use the name without any distinctive attribute.) We know that Kephisodotos the elder, the sculptor of the famous Eirene[2] with the Plutos child (formerly called Leucothea), now in the Glyptothek at Munich, was the father of Praxiteles, and that Kephisodotos lived about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Praxiteles flourished about the middle of the fourth century B.C. In the second half of the fourth century Kephisodotos the younger and his brother Timarchos followed in the footsteps of their father. About 300 B.C., we hear of a Praxiteles to whom Theophrastus (who died about 287 B.C.), gave an order to execute a bust at Athens; and this is no doubt the same one mentioned in the Scholia to Theocritus as belonging to the time of Demetrius. To illustrate the frequent recurrence of the name, Benndorf mentions two artists named Praxiteles in Roman times. The one executed a statue of Caius Aelius Gallus,

[1] Since then it has been shown that the Praxiteles here referred to was not a sculptor but a philosopher. Prof. Benndorf has since this was read withdrawn his hypothesis.

[2] Brunn, Ueber die sogenannte Leukothea, etc., *Sitzungsber. der k. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1867.

the prefect of Egypt from 26 to 24 B.C.; another made the portrait of the proconsul Cn. Acerronius Proclus (Consul 37 A.D.). These facts, Benndorf maintains, go so far as to show a possibility that the sculptor of the Hermes was not *the* Praxiteles. (Dr Klein supports Benndorf's theory and develops it still further.) Lysippian elements, which Benndorf believes he has discovered in the Hermes, and which we shall consider hereafter, drive him to insist upon the probability that the Hermes is the work of the supposed grandson of Praxiteles, who was not exempt from the influence of the renowned sculptor Lysippos, who flourished a generation before him. I shall merely remark here, a point which has already been noticed by Dr Treu (*Der Hermes mit dem Dionysos Knaben*, etc., Berlin, 1878), that Lysippos might have been, and I say most probably was, influenced by the work of Praxiteles in the constitution of his canon of human proportions.

The simplest answer to all these objections is, that if Pausanias had meant one of the less famous sculptors of the name, he would have added some attribute or mark of distinction; while, whenever he uses the name without any distinctive attribute he means the great Praxiteles. Analogous cases in ancient and modern times are present to us all. We must furthermore bear in mind the context of the passage in Pausanias. Pausanias tells us before, that several of the statues are of poor workmanship, and that the sculptors of several of the others are not known; in strong antithesis, as it were, he then mentions a statue, both excellent in work and identified with regard to its author, and tells us that this is a work of Praxiteles, seeming to imply thereby, that being a work of the Praxiteles it must be excellent. The more instances of the recurrence of the same name Benndorf enumerates, the more he fails to disprove the present case being applicable to the great sculptor; and the more does he manifest the need for Pausanias to have specified whom he meant if he did not mean *the* Praxiteles. Prof. Benndorf himself furnishes the best illustration in his enumeration of the Praxiteles pedigree. He there specifies each individual, and only uses the name alone when he means the famous Praxiteles[1].

[1] The word τέχνη used to indicate the sculptor in the passage of Pausanias (τέχνη δέ ἐστι Πραξιτέλους), instead of the more common ἔργον, or the verbal form ἐποίει, ἐποίησε, ἐπόησε, etc., has also been used to throw some doubt upon the assertion whether this strictly meant that this was a work from the hand of Praxiteles. G. Hirschfeld (*Tituli statuarum sculptorumque Graecorum*, etc., Berlin, 1871), supposes that τέχνη was a later Greek form, influenced by the Roman term opus (Illae autem inscriptiones ex Romanorum usu potius quam ex Graecorum conformatae sunt. Cf. opus Phidiae, opus Praxitelis, etc.). Opus does frequently occur in this

Not only, however, from the records of this statue, but from the fact of its very position in the cella of the Temple we might have presumed it to have been the work of a most renowned sculptor, and of Praxiteles above all. We know that the ἀγάλματα within the temple were generally of precious material. In the present case the preceding statues are characterised as being chryselephantine, and the succeeding statue of an Aphrodite by Kleon of Sikyon, is mentioned as being of bronze. The Hermes alone is emphatically stated to be of stone, the commonest material; there must therefore have been great excellence of work inherent in it, and great fame attached to the name of its artist. We know, moreover, that marble was the material characteristically used by Praxiteles[1]. It is no doubt owing to this fact that this work of art has been at all preserved to us; for gold and ivory tempted the lusts of the hordes that subsequently overran this district, and bronze suited the common uses of these barbarians. Except a bronze foot on a stone pedestal, no other fragments of a full-sized bronze statue seems to have been found as yet at Olympia[2]. This fact, again, goes to strengthen my supposition that the other statues in the Heraion were all of precious metal.

As has been already remarked by Hirschfeld (*Deutsche Rundschau*, 1877), Milchhoefer (*Im Neuen Reich*, 1877), Treu (*loc. cit.*), Benndorf and others, Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, the sculptor of the Eirene with the Plutos-child (a subject kindred in its nature to the Hermes with the Dionysos-child), was also the sculptor of a group with the same subject as ours[3]. It is very probable that there was a silent

context as, *e.g.*, on the statues of the Monte Cavallo in Rome. But the word τέχνη is used in this context before the times of Roman influence. Nor could the word τέχνη stand for either the manual and technical part of the work, or the constructive and originative side, alone. It combines both sides. So, for instance, in Aristotle (*Eth. Nicom.* VI. 7), the emphasis in the use of the word is rather upon the technical (in our sense of the word); while Dio Chrysostomos, *Or.* XII. p. 209, praises the χάρις τῆς τέχνης in the Zeus of Pheidias. The use of this word would also be amply accounted for by the natural desire for change in style, to avoid the monotonous repetition of the same word. But I am inclined to believe that the word τέχνη was used by Pausanias as a strong word in this context to accentuate the indisputable authorship of Praxiteles with regard to this work as contrasted with the uncertainty as to the sculptors of the works previously mentioned by him.

[1] Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 69. See the passages in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, p. 248.

[2] Since this paper was read a bronze head has been discovered.

[3] Cephisodoti duo fuere; prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 87.

family tradition among sculptor families with regard to certain subjects, and that Praxiteles would be strongly influenced by a work of his father's.

But we can hardly term the work before us a group; there is no approximation to an equal balance of interest between its constituent parts. Our whole interest and attention are attracted by the Hermes, and the infant Dionysos appears only to exist in our mind as a means to account for the expression of individual character and emotion in the Hermes. And how exquisite and plastically perfect is the expression of this emotion. The Hermes, youthful, and yet with paternal tenderness and strength toned down to gentleness; while a breath of sweet melancholy, pleasing in its sad rhythm, rests over the whole composition. The head combines in its features all the characteristics of a youthful Hermes, and of the typically Attic youth. The type of the athlete, the ephebe, the director and protector of games, and the swift-footed messenger of the gods, is indicated in the firmly cut, tightly connected features, the crisp hair energetically rising from the knit and vigorous brow, in the athletic development of the temples. A second characteristic of Hermes and of the Athenian youth is the acuteness, almost slyness, of intellect (Κλυτόβουλος, δόλιος, etc.); he is the god of skilful speech (λόγιος, facundus[1]); the god of useful inventions[2]; the god of commerce and of thieves (ἐμπολαῖος, πολιγκάπηλος, κερδέμπορος)[3]; the god of luck, of gaming and gamesters (κλῆρος)[4]. But what is most apparent in this head are the softer and more gentle qualities which were also possessed by the strong and wary Athenian youth. Hermes is a devoted and ardent lover; a tender and kind father, who, for instance, bestowed the gift of an ever retentive memory on his son Aethalides, the herald of the Argonauts. He was the benign bestower of earthly prosperity and the reliever of the distressed (ἐριούνιος, δώτωρ ἐάων, ἀκακήτης)[5]. And the dreaming, soft and melancholy traits which are shed with a glow over the whole figure, are personified in Hermes as the bestower of sweet sleep, whose staff could "close the eyes of mortals[6]," and as the leader of all dreams, ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων[7]; the leader of the dead, of departed souls, into Hades (νεκροπομπός, ψυχοπομπός).

[1] *Orph. h.* 27, 4; Hor. *Od.* I. 10. 4.
[2] Plut. *Symp.* 9, 3; Diod. I. 16, v. 75; Hyg. *Fab.* 27.
[3] Aristoph. *Plut.*, 1155, 1156; *Orph. h.* 27. 6.
[4] Aristoph. *Pax*, 365, etc.
[5] *Il.* XXIV. 360, *Odyss.* VIII. 335, *Il.* XVI. 185.
[6] *Il.* XXIV. 343, 445.
[7] Hom. h. 14, and *Il.* II. 26; Virg. *Aen.* IV. 556.

In general we may say that Hermes is the most human of the Greek gods.

But, like a great sculptor who has thoroughly conceived the true province in his art and its means of expression, it is not only the head which Praxiteles has formed to express his feelings, his thoughts, his creative mood, however beautiful we know his heads to have been[1]; we feel his power in the manner in which the head rests upon the neck, and the neck upon the shoulders, and the limbs join on to the body; in short, in the plastic rhythm of the whole figure as well as in the peculiar modelling of every sinew and muscle, and in each smallest part of the surface.

The main features which Praxiteles has expressed in this statue are those of strength and tenderness. It is not a pure and simple type, such as the earlier times would have given us, strength in a Herakles, and softness in a Dionysos, but a composite type of Herculean strength and of Bacchic softness, both harmoniously blended in the beautiful forms of an athletic youth; strength and active energy, penetrated by passive pleasure, capable of delight in passion. Strength is plastically indicated in the powerful limbs, the full chest, the modelling of the well articulated muscles and sinews; while the apparent relaxation and the soft rest of these powerful limbs and of the well-rounded chest, express the gentle element in this complex mood.

The soft layer beneath the epidermis unites, with its tranquil flow, the sinewy muscles that lie below it into a gliding rhythm; propitiates the ruptures of lines, and intermediates each hiatus where each muscle and joint is knit on to the other. The smooth and vibrating surface covers all in lines of gentle yet potentially vigorous cadence, midway between the rippling rhythm of the epidermis of a Farnese Hercules, and the languid and almost effeminate swell of lines in the Lykian Apollo or the Antinous as Bacchus in the Vatican.

But all this is expressed not merely in the rhythm of the individual limbs and parts themselves, but in the *general rhythm* of the body, as well as in the *outline rhythm*.

In the relative position of the limbs to the central point of interest of the figure, strength is expressed though imbedded under apparent rest—it is latent. Michael Angelo's Moses in the San Pietro in Vinculi in Rome is seated in comparative rest, and his muscles are partially relaxed. And still we are necessarily impressed, while gazing upon this seated figure, with its latent power, which may at any moment become

[1] Praxitelea capita, Cic. *de Divinat.* II. 21, 48.

actual. The broad band round his powerful left shoulder in perfect repose, still gives us the idea of motion and resistance. He could rend it asunder, broad as it is, were his muscles to swell. Nay, we feel that the next moment he *will* rise from his apparent repose, and all his sinews will be in the most energetic tension, that he will grasp the tablet with his strong hands and shatter it to the ground, that his whole large frame will vibrate with passion. The eve of a great powerful moral outburst is embodied in the seeming rest and relaxation of this statue. So too we can feel that this Hermes, full of tenderness and glowing with a languid relaxation, can at any moment swing the *discus*, fling the spear, wrestle and struggle in the Pancration, softly skim over the course, or even fly over "the briny sea and the infinite earth with his beautiful ambrosian and golden pedila" as the messenger of Zeus. He can not only tenderly nurse the infant, but he has snatched it from the flames and he can protect it. On the other hand, the languor and tenderness of the figure is expressed in the forward bending head which in this position adds to the expression of dreamy abstractedness, and in the slight curve of the neck and shoulders, in the gentle uplifting of the right arm, and in the careful semi-suspension of the left, as well as in the wavy curve of the flank and the outward swell of the hip (as intelligibly a line of soft melancholy as any minor passage of low and gliding violoncello tones in music).

So much for the *general rhythm of the body*. In the *outline rhythm*, the flow of the simple lines of the outline, there is the same mixture and thorough harmony of soft rest and latent movement. And this is so whether, as Hirschfeld and Milchhoefer maintain, he held in his right uplifted hand a bunch of grapes to incite the appetite of his little ward, or, as Treu maintains, he held the thyrsos to indicate the nature of the infant. This staff would counteract the effect produced by the heavy drapery and the child on his left, which without a similar line on the right would be unsymmetrical in composition[1]. With regard to the

[1] A restoration has been made of the Hermes with a bunch of grapes in his uplifted right hand. This experiment has more than ever convinced me that this could not have been the *motive* of the statue. It misses the whole character of the work and makes a *genre* scene of it. Besides which neither the child nor Hermes would be looking at the grapes. The staff in his right hand would be better for the composition as it is also more in the tradition of these works. The Eirene held a long staff in the same way. Mr A. H. Smith has made it highly probable that he held a long caduceus in this hand. In his paper he has added numerous instances of the more or less modified reproductions of this figure to the list furnished by Benndorf. I believe that the nearest approach to the actual Hermes is the small bronze representing the same subject which I had the good fortune to discover in the Louvre Museum (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, Vol. III., Plate facing p. 107).

outline rhythm we are again midway between the restless, outward-driving lines of a Borghese gladiator, and the restful symmetry of outline in a Somnus, with his hands folded over his head.

With regard to the technique (in the restricted sense), I have already remarked the exquisiteness of the modelling. The surface and what is below it seems to vibrate under the gaze and touch of the spectator. The delicate play of light and shade over the ribs of the right side will assist in appreciating the quality of the modelling when we compare it with similar Roman works, in which each part seems put together, not to flow together. All this points to the expression of what we may term *texture in plastic art*, and here it appears to me that Praxiteles was decidedly an innovator.

Pheidias could readily indicate his texture by means of the various materials he used in one statue, as for instance, gold and ivory; but Praxiteles was the marble sculptor *par excellence*. Pliny (xxxiv. 69, xxxvi. 20) says of him, "Praxiteles was more happy in marble than in bronze, and therefore also more celebrated," and "he surpasses himself in marble." The strong feeling the Greeks had for indication of texture in plastic art manifests itself at first in their using different materials to express various textures. A later development of art leads them to use but one material; but then they call in polychromy[1] to assist them in accentuating various textures, until they gradually come to express this difference by the quality of the modelling. Now I am far from ignoring the exquisite distinction of texture in the nude, the light and the heavy drapery, in the pedimental figures of the Parthenon; but still I maintain that this distinction of texture is of a more marked character in the Hermes than in any earlier statue known to us. Though we know that the statues of Praxiteles were painted with great care, nay, that perhaps even, as Brunn interprets the passage in Pliny (xxxv. 122), Praxiteles himself painted his own statues, still we know with what preference and how frequently he represented nude figures, in which the amount of painting could necessarily have been but very restricted. And, moreover, Lucian (Amor. 13, and Imag. 4) expressed his admiration of the manner in which texture is expressed in the fleshy parts of the Aphrodite of Cnidus. All this leads me to infer that polychromy reached the highest point of its development in Praxiteles, but that after the highest point immediately followed decline. And there can be no

[1] We meet with polychromy in the earliest times; but then it is especially in connexion with architecture, and the works almost invariably partake of a decorative character. The temple statues rarely were of marble, while the agonistic works were generally of bronze.

doubt in my mind, that the strongly marked accentuation of texture in marble independent of colour was already in formation in Praxiteles. In the Hermes we notice this especially in the treatment of the hair (Pl. XVI.) in its relation to the skin. It is very strange that those who first noticed the statue considered this treatment of the hair, roughly blocked out as it is, to be a mark of hasty work. But surely, it arises rather from a very keen sense of texture, and much and deep thought as to the manner of expressing it. Some painters, like Denner, thought that they could best represent hair in as nearly as possible indicating each single hair; but we know that painting in large masses, yet with a peculiar handling of the brush, is more likely to succeed in evoking the sense-perception of sight, equivalent to that perception in touch. In plastic art, this is the introduction of a pictorial element, but it is not painting. Hirschfeld has remarked traces of colour on the lips and hair of our Hermes. I have not been able to discover them[1]. However this may be, the fact remains that there is a new style of rendering hair in this statue. The same applies to the drapery suspended from the left arm. I can recall but one antique statue in which the texture is similarly indicated in the drapery, namely, the Demeter of Cnidus, in the British Museum. The drapery of the Hermes is exceedingly realistic in the indication of texture, and corresponds exactly to the treatment of the hair.

Now, is the Hermes, as Benndorf maintains, really so different in work and character from the other statues which Archaeology has until now identified with Praxiteles? Decidedly not. To begin with the technique. It is objected that this treatment of the hair does not correspond with that of statues like the Apollo Sauroktonos and the Eros, called the "Genius of the Vatican," and so on. But the difference between the hair of the Hermes and the Eros is not much greater than between that of the Eros and the Sauroktonos; and, moreover, we must bear in mind that the other statues are copies, and probably Roman copies, while the Hermes is a Greek original. It is difficult to copy hair, especially such *seemingly* hasty work. I must lay especial stress on one fact, having in my mind a school of archaeologists in Germany, who see the conventionally archaic, imitations of the archaic, "*Archaisieren*," in many works that have, until now, been considered archaic. In copying a work of former times, the copyist almost invariably introduces modern elements, and he cannot help it. To see this we need but stroll through a gallery of old masters and compare the copies

[1] In the recently discovered foot the clearest traces of gilding have been found on the straps of the sandals. If colour has been so well preserved here, why should it be so doubtful elsewhere?

with the originals. We are more justified in opposing what we may call *modernisieren* to their *archaisieren*. For my own part I feel convinced that the hair of the original Genius of the Vatican was more similar in treatment to that of the Hermes than to that of the Sauroktonos.

But sufficient positive evidence can be brought forward to show that the type found in the Hermes is prevalent in the time of Praxiteles and is markedly different from the Lysippian type. We need but compare the head of the Hermes (Pl. XVI.) with heads on three coins[1] which Mr Percy Gardner has kindly informed me all belong to the period of Philip of Macedon, *i.e.*, the age of Praxiteles. The first is the well-known gold stater of Philip of Macedon, with the idealised portrait of the monarch with laurel wreath. The second[2] is a silver coin of Phalanna in Thessaly, a drachma of Aeginetan standard, having on the obverse a young male head looking to the right (which Mr Gardner believes may be Ares), and on the reverse, ΦΑ ΝΝ ΑΙΩΝ with a bridled horse trotting to the right. The third[3] is a copper coin of Medeon in Acarnania, bearing on the obverse, a young male head, and below ME.; and, on the reverse, A within a wreath.

All three heads, though representing different personalities, are the same in style and in the artistic conception of the male type; and all three again bear the most striking resemblance to the head of the Hermes. If we bear in mind that the one head belongs to a highly finished statue of over-life size, we shall find that the differences between the head of the Hermes and each of the coins is not greater than the difference of two coins from one another. But of the three, the second, the coin from Phalanna is most strikingly similar to the Hermes. The brow is more receding, it is true, but we notice the same elevations of the frontal bone, which we do not meet with *before* Praxiteles. The subtle execution of the eye in profile, astonishing in such small dimensions, is the same as in the Hermes, down to the delicate cavity at the angle where the frontal bone and the cheek bone meet. The indication of the soft texture of the cheek, the mouth, the chin, nay, even the peculiar block treatment of the hair, is strikingly similar in the two instances. It is impossible to mistake this head for a Lysippian head; a comparison between the head of the Hermes and that of the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican will show the most manifest difference. It is instructive to compare two heads in the Glyptothek at Munich, in Brunn's Catalogue, No. 164 and No. 83, the former clearly of the

[1] I am obliged to Mr W. S. W. Vaux for suggesting this point of comparison.

[2] Mentioned by Mionnet, II. 148.

[3] Imhof Blumer, *Numism. Zeitschr.* 1878, Pl. I, No. 15.

Praxitelean type of the Hermes, the latter of the Lysippian type of the Apoxyomenos[1].

But it is, we must confess, quite superfluous to attempt to *prove* the Praxitelean character of this statue. Hardly ever, in the history of archaeology, has the sculptor and the denomination of a work been so conclusively shown by the circumstances of its discovery as in this case. Henceforth all the works which have previously been supposed to be Praxitelean will have to be compared with the Hermes, to prove their genuineness, and not *vice versâ*.

Moreover, the proportions of the body of the Hermes correspond exactly to what we should *à priori* have supposed them to be. The canon of Polykleitos was heavy and square, his statues were *quadrata signa*[2]; the canon of Lysippos was more slim, less fleshy: *capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum major videretur*[3]. Now the historical position of Praxiteles lies between Polykleitos and Lysippos, and so the lithe squareness and square litheness of the Hermes represents the transition from the heaviness of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos to the slimness of the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos.

But the physical type of the Hermes is not merely a point of transition. It is true we do not hear of a Praxitelean canon; a fixed model of human proportions is incongruous with the personal and artistic character of Praxiteles, as will become evident to us further on; for such a nature is opposed to all "academical" fetters and is guided by the impressions flowing from each object it deals with. And yet we may now assert that the Praxitelean type was prevalent in the age which we may roughly determine by Philip of Macedon, as becomes evident from the fact that, *e.g.*, the type of the Hermes head pervaded even the more mechanical art of coinage in the remote north of Greece (as in the coins mentioned above). But also the type of the whole figure with its proportions prevailed in that epoch; and this is shown, not only in the frequent modified replicas, such as the so-called Antinous of the Vatican, the Hermes of Andros at Athens, the Hermes in the Glyptothek at Munich, the Hermes from the Farnese collection in the British Museum, &c., &c.; but this type also recurs in statues, independent of the Hermes, and even in vase figures that in style belong to this epoch. It will be a task for archaeologists in the future to study whole groups of

[1] I subsequently find that Prof. Brunn has remarked the characteristics of these two heads.

[2] Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV. 56.

[3] Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV. 65.

ancient monuments, taking the Hermes as the starting point of comparison, as the criterion of Praxitelean work. I shall merely draw attention to three instances.

The famous Poniatowski[1] vase has on the face a representation of the Triptolemos myth, while the figures on the reverse exactly correspond to the Hermes type. In former days archaeologists were very fond of giving mystical interpretations to simple illustrations from ancient life. They were especially fond of bringing every illustration into immediate connexion with the mysteries. So in this case Visconti, Fr. Creuzer[2] and Millin bring the youth, who, as they say, is standing in the doorway of a temple, into connexion with the Eleusinian mysteries, and describe the surrounding persons accordingly. The supposed temple, however, is nothing more than the pictorial rendering of a stone stele. The painter evidently was inspired by or copied a funereal slab which represented a young ephebe as an athlete whose favourite dog is endeavouring to attract his attention. This *motive* is very frequent in Greek funereal monuments. The Greeks were not fond of representing their deceased friends as dead, but recalled them as they were when alive, with a minimum of the dark spectre of death. Married men are represented in the act of being married, warriors, as taking leave or returning from battle, or in the act of fighting; women are pictured in the midst of their household, surrounded by their children, engrossed in their favourite occupations, etc. So in this case the sepulchral vase, which evidently came from the grave of a young man, was decorated on the face with a Triptolemos representation, while on the other side the youth himself is represented as he was: subjectively in the figure on the stele, a young man who excelled in the athletic games and was fond of hunting; objectively, in the relation in which the surrounding figures are brought to him; they show his social character, his amiability both for men and women. A maiden offers a wreath, another holds a mirror to reflect his charms, a youth also offers a victor-vase, the other is in the act of calling him to join him in the palaestra. It is a *genre* scene from the life of the deceased. That the youth is surrounded by the ornaments of a stele becomes a certainty from the resemblance and almost identity which obtains between this figure and a marble stele published by Stackelberg[3], who points to this

[1] First published by E. Q. Visconti, "Le pitture di un antico vaso fittile trovato nella Magna Grecia, appartenente al principe Stanislas Poniatowski," etc. Millin's *Description de Vases Antiques*, Vol. I. Pl. 32, etc.

[2] *Abbildungen zur Symbolik und Mythologie*, Taf. 14, Erklär. 76, p. 47.

[3] *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1837, Taf. II. No. 2.

coincidence. According to Stackelberg it was found on the site of the battle of Leuktra (B.C. 371), and was deposited at Eremokastro, the ancient Thespiae. In this case the youth has no band round his head, and he holds a strigilis in his hand; the remainder is identical in both. In both these cases we have the Hermes type. Moreover, the head of a youth with a Phrygian cap on the neck of the vase, while strongly reminding us of the Hermes, also resembles the head of the Eros of Centocelli, commonly known as the Genius of the Vatican. The proportions of the body are neither Polykleitan nor Lysippian, but essentially those of the Hermes, while the graceful position of the head and the bend in the hip are the striking characteristics of the Praxitelean figures. Of the correspondence with regard to the moral as distinguished from the purely physical characteristics we shall treat hereafter.

Finally, we again meet with the same type in a stele at Athens[1]. It is again a *genre* representation, a boy playing with a bird, leaning against the stem of a tree while his chlamys lightly resting over his left shoulder hangs down by the tree. Again Stackelberg endeavours to bring the youth, as "Verehrer und Diener der Manen-Koenigin Persephone Phereplatta, der Taubentraegerin, oder Aphrodite Epithymbia, Libitina," into some mythological association, while in truth we have merely to deal with a scene from life. Not only does the head, do the physical proportions, exactly correspond to the Hermes, but the attitude is almost identical, nay the drapery with its treatment of folds and the way in which it is suspended from the tree, as well as the tree itself, are in both cases almost the same. The figures speak for themselves. Praxitelean influence becomes still more evident in this case when we remember that the slab comes from Athens, and that we know from Pausanias (I. 2, 3) that Praxiteles was the sculptor of a sepulchral monument in Athens representing a warrior next to his horse (ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόῤῥω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθημα ἔχων στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα ὄντινα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν); and that he also, according to Pliny (*N.H.* XXXVI. 20, opera eius sunt Athenis in ceramico), fashioned works in the Ceramicus, which were most likely sepulchral monuments[2].

[1] Supplement to Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, Pl. 2, fig. 3. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, I Theil, Taf. XXIX. n. 127. Stackelberg, ibid., Taf. II. No. 4.

[2] Brunn formerly (*Künstler Geschichte* I. p. 344), and Urlichs (*Chrest. Plin.*, p. 380), brought these works into connexion with the group of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchos, in the Temple of Demeter at Athens, mentioned by Paus. I. 2, 4; but there is no reason for this. Cf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1282.

I must add one more instance to these, most interesting in that it combines elements of two of the hitherto best known extant works of Praxiteles with those of the Hermes. It is the statue of a so-called Ganymede. This statue of a nude youth with a chlamys over his left shoulder, with feet crossed, leaning against a tree-stem, is published by Visconti[1]. The name ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ is inscribed on the base. This sculptor Phaidimos has consciously united in this work the chief features of the Sauroktonos, the Satyr of the Capitol, and the Hermes. The attitude and action and the treatment of the body are partly the Sauroktonos, partly the Satyr, while the head and the spirit of the whole composition are those of the Hermes.

But what is most characteristic of the Hermes and of all these works is the sadly abstracted and reflective mood expressed in the figures, and the soft melancholy rhythm of the lines. The above-mentioned stele and the vase-figure as well the statues hitherto considered to be Praxitelean, as the Apollo Sauroktonos, the Genius of the Vatican, the Apollino of the Uffizi, and the Faun of the Capitol—all have, in common with the Hermes, the languor in the rhythm of the outline, the same graceful position, the same wavy bend of the hip.

But the sadly-abstracted and reflective mood is expressed more definitely. One of the manifestations of the normal, healthy, and active frame of mind is, that our muscles, or the outward signs of attention, immediately react upon a stimulus received from without by our senses. If, for instance, we receive a tap on our left shoulder, our head and eyes and perhaps even the right arm will turn in that direction. But when we are reflective, wrapped in inward thought, as it were, this mood manifests itself in that we do not normally react in accordance with the stimulus received by our senses. We are insensible to any affection from without, because we are engrossed in the pictures of the inner mind's eye. But though this abstractedness, in so far as it means *insensibility* to the proceedings of the outer world, and in so far as it is a more than normal descent into thought, has an inherent element of sadness, and partakes in its outward manifestion of the languor of dreamland; still it may spring from descent into *critical* thought, and then it does not essentially suggest sadness to us. But the plastic manifestation of these moods distinguishes between critical and vague dreamy abstractedness, in the relative expression of the eye. When we are critically abstracted, the eye, or rather the moveable surroundings of the eye, are compressed, while the body and the head are fixed in one

[1] *Museo Chiaramonti*, Pl. XI. This paragraph has been added since the paper was first published.

direction, insensible to outward disturbances; but in vague and dreamy abstraction, reverie, the eyes are wide open, and there is a fixed immobility of the rest of the body. Now the infant Dionysos on the left arm of the Hermes is evidently restless; he gazes up at his protector, and attempts to attract his attention by tugging at his shoulder. But the widely-open eyes of Hermes are not fixed upon the object which vigorously stimulates his senses; and the half-sad smile round his lips, which are not free from an indication of satiety, is not immediately caused by the infant, though it may be perhaps mediately, namely, by the inner thoughts which were originally suggested by the child. In the same way, on the Athenian stele, the head and the eyes of the youth are gracefully turned to his left, away from the bird restlessly flapping its wings on his right. And, finally, this contrast between the fresh and active and the sad and dreamy is apparent in the figure on the Poniatowski vase. His eyes are not turned upon his favourite dog, who is vainly attempting to attract his attention. The mouth is somewhat drooping with the over-fulness of sentiment.

This expression of countenance, together with the position and rhythm of the rest of the body, expresses with the greatest clearness the sad mood in all these works. It is a great confirmation for me to find that two modern English poets have felt this to be the salient characteristic of one of the before-mentioned statues, the Genius of the Vatican. The one[1] says:

> Nathless, it grieves me that thy pensive mood
> And downcast eyes and melancholy brow
> Reveal such sorrow; nay I know not how
> Stern sadness o'er thy beauty dares to brood.
> And then I say: the sorrow is not thine,
> *But his who sculptured thee*, weeping to think
> That earthly suns to night's cold tide must sink,
> And youth ere long in death's pale charnel pine.
> Or wert thou some Marcellus shown by heaven
> With presage of the tomb upon thine eyes,
> Whom Jove, too envious of our clouded skies,
> Snatched from the earth, to divine councils given,
> And smoothed thy brow, and raised thy drooping head
> And lapped thee in a soft Elysian bed?—

And the other[2]:

> O love, to me who love thee well,
> Who fain would hear and mark,
> The secret of thy sorrow tell,
> And why thy brow is dark.

[1] J. Addington Symonds, the "Genius of the Vatican," in "Many Moods."
[2] Ernest Myers' Poems. The "Genius of the Vatican."

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But thou hast caught a deeper care,
His smile is not for thee;
Thou canst not all so lightly wear
Thine immortality.

Or is it that thy spirit knew
Its solitary fate,
That whatsoe'er of beauty grew,
Thou might'st not find thy mate?

This element of melancholy, which slowly flowed out of the hands of Praxiteles into all his works, must have been the subjective element of Praxitelean art. To appreciate this we must endeavour to study the man who stood behind the artist, and the man again will be most readily appreciated by us when we study the time and the social environment in which we find him a member.

Brunn[1] has rightly concluded from the subjects which Praxiteles chose for artistic representation (generally female or youthful male beauty), together with the reports we have concerning the character of these works, as well as from the fact that he frequently charmed the spectators with the outward and more material execution of the works, that one of the most manifest features of his artistic character was sensuousness.

It is in the nature of the sensuous man to be impressionable. He is subject, more than the unimpulsive, to be strongly influenced by his various surroundings. This will account for the absence of a strict and uniform style as we find it in the older times, especially in ancient Peloponnesian art (which like the men of that time and district was hard and rigorous). The sensuous nature is open to the charms of its surroundings, and its moods are essentially affected by them; and so the style, in detail for instance, the treatment of the hair (as in the statues we have before enumerated), will vary in accordance with the different subjects treated. But what is most characteristic of the sensuous temperament is the frequent reaction towards melancholy which follows upon every exalted or violent affection; there are but extremes.

But by this sensuousness we are far from meaning actual passion; and I thoroughly agree with Brunn[2] in his controversy with Friedrichs[3] when he maintains that the πάθος of Praxiteles differed from that of Scopas. In Scopas we have actual passion expressing itself in the

[1] *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, Vol. I. p. 345, etc.
[2] *Künstler Geschichte*, and in *Rhein. Museum*, Vol. XI. 166.
[3] *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe*, Leipz. 1865.

violence of the actions he chose for plastic representation and in the feature of movement and unrest which ran through all his statues. In Praxiteles we have potential passion, suggestion of strong impulses, rather than impulses themselves. But such suggestiveness, hidden and veiled, is sad in itself, sadder in its aspect than even the violent impulse to destruction; and whenever the sensitive and amative nature is not vibrating it is apt to be sad.

Pheidias was not sad, but the time in which Pheidias lived was essentially different from that of Praxiteles. The time in which the character of Pheidias formed itself, was one of decision; its traits stood forth pronouncedly and its aims all lay in one direction; the united resistance of all Greek states against their common Persian foe. There was something decided and vigorously energetic in the spirit which this great aim of Greek states and their citizens cast over that epoch; it excluded self-consciousness and self-reflection, it gave them their keen perception of generality and of broad types—of the ideal. This naïveté, added to energy and inventive impulse, together with the essential plastic tendency of the Greek mind, is most favourable to the production of great sculptors and is most characteristic of the genius of Pheidias. Serenity is that which most characterises the works of Greek plastic art in the time of Pheidias, the noble naïveté, and silent greatness; "*Die edle Einfalt und stille Grösse*," as Winckelmann calls it. And this feature must no doubt have been the most striking one in the character of Pheidias himself. With the smallest amount of exertion and the greatest simplicity, Pheidias gave forth himself in his works of grandeur; while again, with the greatest simplicity he was affected by what surrounded him, and assimilated with his inventive genius the grand spirit and healthy vigour of his time.

The age of Praxiteles was not so simple and decided in its character, its movements, and its aims. The aims before it did not enforce themselves with decision enough to make it, so to say, begin anew and unprecedented in the formation of its future. Its moving power was not simple, but emanated from two different quarters. The violent commotion of the past Peloponnesian war, on the one hand, still rolled its billows and cast the weary mind to and fro; while, on the other hand, the whirlpool of future conquests and struggles mysteriously sucked it into its circle. Within the dying vibrations of former commotion and the mystic forebodings of stirring future events this age grew up an old man with youthful impulses—a grey-haired youth. The naïveté and simplicity of action was no more; no decided trait; neither day nor night, but what lies between them—twilight. The aims of the

time not being defined and one, but there being currents in two different directions, the individual dwellers on the borderland of events became undecided, inactive, more reflective, and sophisticated. For if the outer world draws in two different directions, the result is a reversion into oneself. In the past romantic period of our century, the nations were still trembling with the violent emotions produced by the French Revolution and the sweep of Napoleon; while the Revolution of 1848 and the great reformatory steps of our immediate age mysteriously drew them on. It is typified by De Musset (himself a type of this age) in the beginning of his *Confessions d'un enfant du siècle*, an age in which Shelley, still a boy, is reported to have said of himself: "I am older than my grandfather, and if I die to-morrow I shall be ninety-nine years old." The movement being complex, it will either produce stagnation, or, not admitting of simple outward motion, it produces a surplus amount of inner, "molecular" motion, that is, nervousness, excitability.

The excitable, nervous and sensuous nature combined with a soul of poetry and constructive imagination has always the characteristics of the sanguine temperament, the bright and fresh impulse, and the sad and melancholy reaction. Such natures are premature, they pass rapidly through childhood, and frequently astound us by intuitive forebodings and thoughts and feelings which belong to old age; and still they never lose the freshness and vigour of youth, for they are the pulsating incorporation of the attributes of youth, as the equipoised, critical and steady temperament personifies the age of ripe manhood. Such natures cannot produce the steady grandeur of a Pheidias; but they fluctuate in their works and are continually influenced by their immediate surroundings—influenced immediately and in their whole person, not assimilating their environment with their fresh, strong, and simple personality, as do those of Pheidiac type. For the nervous constitution of such sanguine temperaments does not allow of any protracted sojourn on the heights of sublimity. There is no continuity of impulse, no sameness of mood. Though they may sometimes rise above the world of reality into the supernatural and godlike, experience feelings and delights which no other heart can feel, see visions which no other eye has met, they soon sink from this lofty height, in which the air is almost too thin to permit of mortals breathing, to the world of reality; breathless and trembling, but sustained and drawing upwards with them their environment by the resonance and memory of what they heard and saw. Yet when they try to fix these impressions they frequently fail, for such moods cannot last. Coleridge's Kubla Khan and

Shelley's Epipsychidion are fragmentary. The Lovely, the Humanly-Beautiful is their domain, for they are loveable and much loving natures.

Yet over all this world of restlessness, of "Storm and Pressure," is spread a thin gauze of unpronounced sadness, like the thin mist that spreads over even the freshest landscape in the brightest morning of spring. Praxiteles, Shelley, Heine, De Musset, Chopin were such temperaments. What adds to the melancholy of such natures is the consciousness that they have lost simplicity; they know that they are sophisticated, and thus the simple and innocent, whenever they meet it, evokes in them a fond and desiring sadness. When a pure maiden inspires Heine, he can write the purest and sadly-sweetest verses; all the stains of his past joy have left him.

Thou'rt like a lovely floweret,
So void of guile and art,
I gaze upon thy beauty,
And grief steals o'er my heart.

I fain would lay devoutly
My hands upon thy brow,
And pray that God will keep thee
As good and fair as now[1].

Childhood with its purity and innocence fills them with sad longing. And so it is that the infant on the arm of the Hermes cannot inspire the vigorous young god with its own mirth, but evokes the sweetly-sad and pensive mood which we have noted in the statue. But the power of loving is placed deep in the heart of Hermes, and he is loveable in his beauty.

Praxiteles, the sculptor of what is loveable, was ordered to fashion a Hermes, the protector of athletic sports, in a temple at Olympia, the sacred realm of all physical exercise; a strong god in the vast temple of strength. And how did he solve the task? He gave a strong god, but in a moment of tender pensiveness, and accentuated, even more than his strength, his amiable beauty. The man with his individual character shines forth through the artist.

The Hermes, then, undoubtedly a work of Praxiteles, has enabled us to recognise the character of Praxitelean art, the character and genius of Praxiteles himself, and has thrown a new ray of light upon a period of Greek history. A work of art may elucidate an age as clearly as a chapter of written history. Who can know the history of the Italian Renaissance without studying Da Vinci, Raphael, and Michael Angelo?

[1] Leland's translation.

No. III.

THE INFLUENCE OF ATHLETIC GAMES UPON GREEK ART.

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If we were to tell an uneducated workman or a thoughtless young lady in society that the reasons why they consider certain people good-looking and certain things pleasing and well-proportioned are based upon the canons of proportion which the ancient Greeks established for the human form and for the objects manufactured by them, they would find it difficult to realise the truth of such a statement. Yet so it is. We can all readily realise that our taste differs from the taste of savages who, as Professor Flower told you three years ago, flatten their skulls, run bones through their noses, and stretch and thicken their lips and ears by means of weights. Yet the fundamental principles underlying our taste, in contradistinction to that of these savages, are identically the same as those laid down by the artists of ancient Hellas. Nay, the difference in taste which separates us from the types of Byzantine-Christian and early German art is the same as that which separates these pre-renaissance types from those of ancient Greece. We are fundamentally still Greek in taste. Now, when we consider how much further than the Byzantines and early Germans the ancient Greeks are removed from us in time, space, race, and religion, the question as to the causes of this singular persistency of the influence of Greek art must necessarily present itself to the inquiring mind.

The first and most obvious answer to this question is a purely historical one. It would consist in pointing to the events of the Italian renaissance, where, as a matter of fact, Greek art and Greek letters were brought back to light and revived among the people. Yet this is really no answer. For the question must further be asked: why

should a few statues unearthed, coming from an age remote in antiquity, commend themselves so strongly to the taste of a later age living under different conditions, as to supersede the prevailing canons? and why should such an "ancient innovation" not die as a passing fashion, but prevail and persist in its influence for centuries?

The reasons for this are not to be found in historical accident; but must be sought in the essential nature of Greek art itself, in those elements inherent in the art which give it the power of persisting and of retaining its validity for all ages and countries.

Two words, the weight of which I cannot hope to convey in this short address, contain in their combination the essential and distinctive characteristics of Greek art. It is the combination of Nature and the Ideal.

Greek art has persisted in its influence down to our time, because the artist clung to nature and followed her as a kind mother, and nature practically remains the same throughout all ages. Byzantine, not to speak of Egyptian and early Oriental, art have not done this. The types of Byzantine art are conventional abstractions from nature; a work of Greek art, however ideal, is instinct with nature.

But the persistent influence of Greek art is not wholly due to the fact that it was naturalistic; it is due above all to another quality of primary importance, namely, that it was ideal, that it idealised nature. The ideal in art is the highest generalisation of form. In Greek art it was the highest generalisation of the forms in nature. The works of Greek art are therefore not dependent for appreciation upon the individual spectator or one special mood of the individual, but are valid for all sane men, all men of a certain physiological constitution of their senses, surrounded by man and nature relatively the same. The works of the early Flemish and German masters, and even of some of the Kranachs and of Albert Dürer, are replete with nature, yet are often wanting in the ideal elements which raise the artist above the individual model into the realms of the most perfect ideal types.

Neither Nature alone nor the Ideal alone can make art lasting in its influence over different peoples and ages; it is only in the combination of the two, in nature idealised, that this persistent quality of art can be found. Yet Greek art was not always characterised by the combination of these two elements.

We naturally incline to forget the early elementary stages of things great and perfect. Nay, we are inclined to believe that they never were humble and lowly, never grew from the smaller and lower to the great and high. Thus the early childhood of Greek art is not widely

known. Still, there was a period when Greek art was not possessed of nature. We may further generalise and say, that art never is possessed of nature in its earliest stages. It has often been stated that the origin of art is to be found in the imitative instinct of man. This experience shows to be utterly untrue. It is really to be found in man's active nature, in his creative instinct, which often drives him to seek for what is opposed to nature as she presents herself to him day by day, for rhyme as opposed to prose, for harmony of tones as opposed to confusion of sound, for composition of thoughts, things and forms as opposed to haphazard collocation of things. Children, when set to draw a real house, will not imitate what they see before them, but will return to the well-known schematic form which we have all drawn, and which children in all countries have drawn and will draw. It is at a far later stage that man learns to render exactly what he sees before him and to follow and imitate nature.

The childhood of Greek art shows the same characteristics which mark the early artistic attempts of children. The works belonging to what is called the Archaic period (roughly speaking, the works previous to the fifth century before our era) all exhibit a conventional treatment which, when compared with the treatment of the works of the fifth and subsequent centuries, betokens a complete inability to render freely and accurately the forms of nature. How then was the step from this imperfection to the highest perfection made?

The causes which brought about this advance are numerous. In studying the history of early Greek art we can discern the following moving powers which account for the course it took and its slow or rapid progress. As a *primum movens* there was the creative instinct of man just alluded to. If this were the only moving power, unaffected by surrounding circumstances, unmodified in its course and progress by other active currents, the attempts of the later generations who start with the results attained by their predecessors before them and the experience gained by much struggle transmitted to them would show a constant advance upon the work of their fathers. But life does not present so simple a progression. There are other currents which either retard or accelerate progress. Among these we notice as a retarding side-current the law of inertia, which applies to man as it does to nature. In this case it means the force of habit and custom which leads men more or less voluntarily to resist the acceptance of new forms differing from those which they have learnt to admire, and which they associate with things highly esteemed. This conservatism extends not only to the appreciation of form but also to the older traditions of handling the material

which we often see survive in cases where a new material suggested and required a new handling.

As a side current which accelerated the progress of Greek art towards freedom in the rendering of nature we notice among others, that certain changes in the political life of the ancients favoured the free development of art. Such were the accession to power of splendour-loving princes like Polykrates of Samos, Hieron of Syracuse, and, above all, Peisistratos and the Peisistratidae of Athens. The most important political event was the Persian war and the wealth and glory it brought to the Greeks. We must further notice the important influence which technical inventions exercised upon the development of art, as the invention of the sawing of marble by Melas of Chios and his school, which freed the early wood-carver from the restrictions of a round stem of a tree narrowly circumscribed in its dimensions. The art of soldering iron, discovered by Glaukos of Chios, which gave similar freedom to the metal-worker, and, above all, the invention of the casting of bronze by Rhoikos and Theodoros, which enabled the sculptor to bring his finished statue closer to his own clay model, reacted upon the art of modelling and did much to free art from its conventional trammels.

Again, the influence of kindred arts upon one another advanced each one in turn. So architecture advanced sculpture in forcing the sculptor to give freedom of movement and variedness of attitude to his figures, prescribing to him a limited space which he had to fill with his figures. A triangular pediment, high in the middle and low at the angles, was filled in the earliest art by quaint figures that grew smaller and smaller in dimension as they approached the angles. In order to avoid this absurdity, the sculptor, while placing figures erect in the centre, was forced to vary the attitudes from a slight inclination down to a completely reclining posture in the angles, and thus learned to represent figures with freedom of movement. The influence of sculpture upon painting and of painting upon sculpture furnishes us with reflections which could hardly be dealt with thoroughly in only one address.

But of all causes which led the conventional early artist to nature, by far the most effective was the influence of the athletic games and the palaestra, which forms the subject of this address.

We shall see then, first, how the palaestra led Greek artists to nature, and secondly, how it led them away from nature to the ideal, or rather, through nature to the ideal.

It has often been said that a question clearly put is half the answer. In the present case to appreciate the influence of the palaestra upon the development of Greek art we must resolve the question into three

definite ones, which will all tend to explain the influence exercised by the athletic games. At the same time these questions, if answered, will account for the peculiar rapidity of the advance made during a relatively short period of Greek art from conventional archaism to free naturalism and idealism, a fact, which, it appears to me, has heretofore not been satisfactorily explained.

1st. If we study the Homeric poems so far as they are concerned with plastic art, we must feel that they manifest the highest feeling for nature and freedom of execution in the rendering of the human form. This has already been felt with regard to the descriptions of the works of art the poet saw in his mind's eye and described as if really existing. But it appears to me that the most important side of the artistic feeling in the Homeric poems is to be found in the description of gods and heroes, and, more especially, in the sensuous description of the warriors in action and the careful study of the anatomy of the human figure as shown by the account of the wounded and falling heroes. In Homer's picture of a spear-hurling warrior, we have before our mind's eye the perfect statue of a spear-thrower; when the hero seizes a rock, we have before us a diskobolos; when with "loosened knees" the wounded combatant sinks to the ground, we see a figure from the Aegina pediment or a dying Lapith or Gaul. Now, with such feeling for form, such definite conception of what is sculpturesque, so clear a notion of the parts of the human body, the step to the actual execution in the sculptor's material is but a small one. People possessed of such sense for plastic composition cannot remain content with mere symbolical natureless art, and the technical means of expressing their inner wants are a matter attained with comparative ease. Yet the fact remains that even for centuries after Homer thus manifested his sense for what is sculpturesque in nature the extant statues are stiff and conventional and do not manifest even approximately the feeling for nature which we find in these early poems.

2nd. If we examine the earliest monuments which we may attribute to the eighth century, and compare them with those belonging to the middle of the sixth century, we find that they are comparatively on the same level of imperfection as regards their want of freedom and nature, and we must be struck by the relatively small advance made in two centuries.

3rd. Now, with this hardly noticeable decrease in stiffness and conventionality during centuries, we must be struck by the singular phenomenon that the advance from the imperfect and unnaturalistic to the most perfect freedom in the rendering of the forms of nature takes

place within a period of fifty years, from about 510 B.C. to 460 B.C. Within this short span of time the gulf which separates some of the stiff statues, like the Apollo of Tenea (Fig. 1), from the Diskobolos of Myron (Fig. 2), some of the lifeless seated figures of the Branchidae from the early works of Pheidias, is overleapt. How could fifty years create so great a change as is shown by the comparison of the Apollo of Tenea, devoid of nature, with the Diskobolos of Myron, who is breathing with life? Other works of Myron are described by ancient authors as true to nature, even to deception. The statue of the runner Ladas is called breathing with life (ἔμπνους); the runner seemed, it is said, with his last breath, to jump from his pedestal to grasp the victor's wreath. Centuries after Homer had in his written descriptions manifested such a keen sense for nature in the rendering of the human form, works as conventional as the Apollo of Tenea were produced, differing but slightly in their lack of naturalism from the Apollos of 160 years before. Fifty years sufficed to produce all the freedom and nature in conception and execution of sculpture, which we can estimate when comparing the Diskobolos of Myron with the Apollo of Tenea. "How can this be accounted for?" is the question to be answered.

The explanation which has until now been given, is that the Persian wars and the Greek victories produced a favourable change in the life of the whole Greek people, political, religious, and intellectual, and also freed art from its conventional trammels. Now, there can be no doubt as to the important influence which the Persian victories had upon the development of Greek art. Yet I have always felt that while it to a great extent explained the loftiness and greatness of character which marks the art of the age of Pericles, it does not sufficiently explain the definite advance made in art from more abstract conventionality down to nature. Moreover it took some time before the great spirit bred by the heroic efforts of the Persian wars had so far transfused the whole nature of the people as to impress its spirit upon so special a manifestation of the human mind as art. And so it is not until the great works of Pheidias which group round the year 450 B.C. that this spirit is exhibited in art; while the actual advance from conventional archaism to freedom and nature takes place in the years immediately preceding and following the Persian wars. The really efficient cause of this rapid development can therefore not be found in the influence of the Persian wars, but lies in the growth of athletic games and the systematic development of the palaestra, especially when these are brought into an immediate relation to art.

Why Greek art should not have advanced more rapidly towards

nature during the centuries preceding the "period of transition," is explained by one simple fact, namely, that before this time the statues were almost exclusively religious. The early wooden statues, the *ξόανα*, were statues of gods forming an important part of religious worship. The tendency of religious worship is naturally conservative. The very earliest images of the iconic period[1] were necessarily rude. The more remote the age of such an image, the greater the mystery attached to it, the greater its religious weight. The earliest statues were considered by the Greeks to have fallen from heaven (*διοπετής*). The more a statue was like these holy early images, the greater its sanctity, and thus there would be a natural tendency to repeat the earlier types. Nay, even later, when freedom and nature had gained their sway over art, the gods, when grouped with heroes, are more conventional in treatment than the less divine beings. The same holds good in all periods of art. I need but remind you of the solemnity, bordering on severity, of the religious pictures of Bellini as compared with the perfect freedom of conception and execution manifested in his small pictures with classical subjects in the Academy at Venice. So long as the sculptor's art is entirely in the service of religious worship, there is small chance of its freeing itself from conventional imperfections. To be brought down to nature the sculptor must be brought down from the gods, face to face with man, and then he may reconstruct his gods out of the ideal combination of the most perfect forms which he has studied in man, but has never found together in one man.

In the first place the palaestra led the Greek artist down to man. It was here that the Greek people and the Greek artist had their feeling for the human form, its manifestations of strength and perfect proportion, aroused and developed. In the athletic games, to which a moral, nay even a religious importance was attached, victory, which brought glory to the victor and was the pride of his community, was based upon the perfection of the human body, the full and normal development of all the organs, flexibility and dexterity of movement, which the early artist failed to render in his statues, and with regard to which the sense of the public at large seemed comparatively blunt. It was here, with hundreds of nude youths, not only wrestling, jumping, and running, but endeavouring by systematic practice to remedy any defect or abnormality in any one limb or organ, that the artist day by day studied his anatomy of the human figure without the need of entering the dissecting-

[1] There was an *aniconic* period of Greek religion in which gods were worshipped, not in actual images, but in objects and localities of nature, and in symbolical structures suggesting human form.

room or calling in the help of the anatomist. And when once the artist was called upon to commemorate by means of his art the outward form of the athlete whose perfect development gained him the glory of victory and monumental fame, we can then see how the sculptor was led away from the conventional archaic types of gods down to nature in living, active, and well-formed man.

All this more or less *a priori* reasoning makes it most probable that the palaestra was the most important agent in bringing Greek art down to nature in the fifty years marking the "period of transition." An actual examination of the facts and a careful study of Greek art with this question before the mind, give the most conclusive evidence of the supreme influence exercised by the games and the palaestra. I cannot hope in this short address to place before you all the instances bearing upon this subject which I have collected for the last four years, and which have shown me conclusively that we must ascribe to the palaestra the chief influence in freeing Greek art from its conventional trammels. On the other hand I do not mean to appeal to your faith in my personal statement; but I believe that the instances which I am able to place before you in diagrams and casts will suffice to illustrate and support the points to which I shall draw your attention. Still I feel bound to inform you that the choice of these special instances has often been guided by mere convenience and readiness of access, and that in many cases, as with some of the vases, the diagrams were made for other purposes; and thus it cannot be said that I have chosen but a few instances happening to prove my generalisations.

From the most general point of view, we must be struck by the fact that the Greeks, the one people in antiquity whose art is possessed of nature, were also the one people with whom athletic games were a national institution, wide spread and part of daily life. I have endeavoured to show elsewhere how this fact as well as the plastic predisposition of the Greek race was a necessary outcome of the fundamental characteristics of the race and their physical and social surroundings, and to point out that Oriental nations and those living in a tropical or northern climate could not develop the same characteristics. We must at least note the fact that the two distinctive elements of Greek life, a high development of athletic institutions and of naturalism in plastic art, are found together.

But what tends more directly to show the immediate influence of the athletic games and to solve the main question we have placed before us, is the fact that the fifty years which mark the transition from conventionality to freedom and nature in art are also the years in which the

athletic games became really elevated to the important position which they occupy in our mind, and which they did not always hold; that in this period the palaestrae or athletic schools became real national institutions, thoroughly organised all over Greece.

As with art and most higher manifestations of human thought and culture, the early stages are almost always essentially religious in character, so the athletic games in earlier times were either associated with some worship of god or hero or were part of the funeral ceremony, thus partaking of an essentially religious character. Towards the close of the sixth century the great games, such as those of Olympia, partake more and more of a national and political character. They become the central point of peaceful union for all Greek states. The increase of their national importance sprang from the growth of the feeling of Panhellenic unity which preceded the Persian wars; yet they no doubt reacted strongly upon this feeling, and served to bring together the people of the various states, and to make them feel the common bands which bound them together. The political importance of the great games, especially those of Olympia, can hardly be over-estimated. This political importance was, no doubt, felt by Peisistratos, who, along with Pericles, was the greatest of Athenian statesmen. He appears to me to have foreseen the greatness of the future of Greece, and above all, of Athens. On the model of the Olympian games he revived the Athenian games, and as there he traced the growth of Panhellenic feeling, so here he wished to create a real Panathenaic feeling. He added new games to the old ones, gave greater splendour to them, and, as the Olympian games recurred at periods of four years, determining the computation of time for the whole of Greece, so he introduced the Greater Panathenaic, recurring every four years and determining the computation of time for Athens. It is a noteworthy fact that every great political leader in Athens marked his political activity by some addition to the Panathenaic festival. After Peisistratos, with the Peisistratidae and with Pericles, the games were further enriched and obtained still greater influence. Furthermore, we must attach the greatest importance to the development of the palaestrae or athletic schools during this period. By degrees these institutions are established or rendered more systematic in their organisation throughout the whole of Greece, and become the schools for the physical training of the Greek youth destined to provide strong and active warriors to defend their native country. Nay, they become the home for general education, where even intellectual training is carried on, and the philosophers form their circles of eager learners. As I have said before, it is here that the artists studied the human form in rest and

action. It is here that the systematic training of each organ of the human body brought home to them the plastic anatomy of man, and that in the σκιαμαχία, in which the various stages of each game were gone through, the sculptor had impressed upon his eye in living statues the typical attitudes of each game.

A still more direct proof is to be found in the fact that in this period the custom arose of commemorating athletic victories by statues. And now, as I have said above, the sculptor is brought face to face with man, and must bend his art and craft to the service of actual nature. According to Pausanias the first statues set up to athletic victors were those of Praxidamas and of Rhexibios, who were victors in the fifty-ninth and sixty-first Olympiads, that is, about 530 B.C. They were of wood, and, according to his description of the one to Arrhachion, were very similar to the statue of the Apollo of Tenea. The influence of the palaestra and the introduction of the custom of erecting statues to victors did not take immediate effect, or at once convert imperfect art to a state of perfection, but it was inch by inch that conventionality strove to maintain its ground, and step by step that art advanced towards nature within this comparatively short period of fifty years. So we can see in the extant statues the gradual growth of freedom and the falling away of the archaic fetters. In these three instances we have the chief stages of this progress. In the Apollo of Tenea at Munich, in attitude, in the composition of the parts of the body and in the modelling of the surface, we have hardness and woodenness far removed from the actual appearance of the living organism. In the so-called "Strangford Apollo," in the British Museum, in whom I see an athlete belonging to the school of Aegina, we have a great advance in the direction of nature. Though the attitude is still conventional, the feet placed one before the other, the arms pinned to the sides, the head straight forward at right angles to the chest, the limbs seem joined more organically to the body, and, above all, the surface is modelled so as to present a continuous rise and fall, not an abrupt succession of ridges put together, and to suggest the various organs which it covers. Still, though the growing feeling and desire for rendering nature is manifest in this work, we notice a struggle in overcoming the difficulties presented by the material. The traces of conventionality are but very slight in this third statue, the Choiseul-Gouffier Pugilist (Pl. xv.), formerly known as an Apollo. This work is most probably the work of Pythagoras of Rhegion, a sculptor who stood on the very border line between dying archaism and the vigorous life of free naturalistic art. Here freedom is given to the attitude (a typical one in a certain stage

of boxing): the athlete rests upon one leg more than upon the other, the arms are freely extended, and, above all, the surface is modelled with a perfection which presents most vividly the flexibility of the human skin and the change of surface as it covers organs of different form and texture. Finally, in the Diskobolos of Myron we have fullest freedom of attitude in the indication of active life and in the modelling of the surface. The artists had to exercise their power of rendering the life of nature in many an athlete statue before they gained the full benefit of the growing influence of the palaestra. It was chiefly in the schools of Aegina and Argos that this training was undergone. If we but bear in mind that, before the year 530, statues were only of gods and there existed none of athletes, and compare the enormous preponderance of athlete statues over those of divinities with the sculptors of Argos like Ageladas, of Aegina like Kallon and Onatas, of Athens like Myron, we can realise the actual influence which the growth of athletic institutions had upon art. I would beg you to connect in mind with what we shall learn concerning the ideal period which followed this step down to nature the fact that after this period of transition, especially with the great artists of the Attic schools, there was no such preponderance of athlete statues over those representing mythological subjects.

Finally, in carefully studying the extant ancient monuments, we realise the great and direct influence of athletic games, while at the same time we explain a fact in the early Greek which has often been noticed, and never, to my knowledge, satisfactorily explained. It is the fact that, down to the time of Pheidias, the treatment of the nude male figure far surpasses in perfection the rendering of the head, which is hard, lifeless, and conventional. This shows that the body engrossed the artistic interest and attention of the sculptors, that this appreciation of the human body is to be attributed to the engrossing interest of the athletic games, and that the palaestra was the real school for the sculptor. Look at the feeling for nature in the body of this "Strangford Apollo," and compare with it the lifelessness of the head. You must be struck by the exceedingly careful rendering of the human structure—limbs, muscles, sinews, and surface—in the figures from this pediment of the temple of Athene at Aegina; then compare with it the lifeless conventionality of the heads. In the same way it is the influence of the palaestra, which, arousing the interest in the male human figure, and giving the sculptor the power of rendering it with truth to nature, accounts for the inability freely to render the female figure, as compared with the great skill with which the male figure is represented during this period. Compare the nude warriors from this same pediment with the

Athene in its centre, and the difference will be most manifest. And, thirdly, this supreme influence which the athletic games exercised upon artistic feeling and upon artistic creation is shown by the fact that, while during this period the modelling of the nude male figure is so perfect, the modelling of drapery is still in its elementary stages; so that even in the works attributed to Kalamis, the older contemporary of Pheidias, the modelling of the drapery is comparatively hard and conventional. Still, it was the palaestra that led the artist down to nature, and if it naturally be above all in the nude male figure, the central task is still accomplished, and the extension of this attainment to other "unathletic" objects is a necessary sequence. For it is a well-known truth, felt by all artists, that whoever has the power of drawing or modelling accurately and with truth to nature a nude male figure, can render with the same correctness whatever he sees before him, provided it engrosses his interest and occupies his attention and practice for some short time.

We have now seen how the first great task in the development of Greek art has been accomplished chiefly through the agency and influence of athletic games. The artist has been brought from conventionality and the abstract symbols of gods down to nature and man. The next great task, as we have before put it, is to lead the artist away from nature, through nature to the ideal. There really was some danger that Greek art would not rise higher than the mere accurate rendering of nature, which would lead to extreme realism, and, through the final stage of overdone technical skill, to a speedy degeneration. In Myron there is evidence of this danger. His statues, such as that of the famous cow, were praised for their extreme realism almost leading to deception; and in the excessive movement which he put into some of his statues, such as that of the Diskobolos, even according to the testimony of the ancients, there was an element of sensationalism which, if it had swayed Greek art, would have led to a rapid decline. In order that Greek art should ever reach the height which it actually did, and which, as I pointed out to you at the beginning, is the cause of its persistency of influence even down to our own times, it must add the ideal to nature gained—establish the *natural ideal* of the human form.

There can be no doubt that in the fulfilment of this second great purpose the heroic spirit of the past Persian wars and the enlightenment and culture of the Periclean age were most effective. It predisposed the people towards the appreciation and accomplishment of great works, raised them above the sphere of mere individual interest into that of great common purposes and aspirations, gave them that characteristic feeling for width and grandeur, the real and most eloquent expression

of which is to be found in the art of Pheidias. Yet in a more direct and immediate way the palaestra was again instrumental in leading art to make this great step.

If the artist has been led to appreciate and study nature and to endeavour to render it accurately in his works, this may lead him at last to imitate most minutely what at the time he sees before him. This may be excellent practice; but it will never create great art. For the individual man is imperfect, and the rendering of those imperfect forms will not satisfy the feeling for law, order, harmony, or design inherent in the human mind, the primary impulse to all artistic creation.

The palaestra was the real school for the Greek artist: here he spent his time and studied the human form; but not only in individuals. Constantly from his earliest youth, day by day, he had before his eye numbers of well-built youths in all attitudes and all actions, and these series of individual forms impressed themselves upon his mind until they became an intrinsic part of his visual memory and imagination, forming, as it were, an alphabet with which he could create at will things of great and new meaning. Just as letters, words, and grammar have become to us elements and units of thought which lie ready to be composed, without effort, as far as they are concerned, into phrases, sentences, periods, books, poems and orations with great and new meaning and perfect form, so the existing human bodies and their changes in various attitudes and actions became such elements to the visual and imaginative mind of the ancient Greek artists. They did not require conscious attention, but became the parts of a great and new composition, with a meaning and spirit as a whole, lofty and high, yet ever intelligible, because composed of these elements familiar to man from the daily suggestion of nature.

Therefore it is that the human forms which they present are so perfect. Turn to an entirely different period of art and you will notice a similar phenomenon having similar causes. Northern renaissance painting and sculpture, which possess so many great characteristics of their own, widely differ from Italian renaissance art in that their renderings of the nude human figure are devoid of the grace and harmony which those of the Italians possess: they are to a greater extent the portraits of individuals whose bodies were not perfect in all parts. This is chiefly to be attributed to the fact that in the southern districts partial nudity is more common, and from an early age the Italian has more than the German or the Fleming to some degree reduced the individual human forms to an alphabet, and has created more ideal individuals of art. Most of the nude subjects in modern works of art are really studies, and not pictures or statues. The modern artist depends upon his one

model, and if the figure be more or less perfect we are rather inclined to praise him for his skill or luck in choosing a good model than for his artistic imagination.

This feeling for perfection of form which the Greek artist gained through the study of so many individual instances in the palaestra soon became conscious, and the attempt was soon made to find the most normal proportions of the human figure as suggested by the palaestra. The generalisation from the individuals to the ideal type was bridged over in the palaestra itself by certain classes or groups of individuals forming types of their own. As the palaestra became thoroughly organised in this period, so the games were classified and systematised, all joining in the one great end of producing healthy and strong youths serviceable to the state. Thus the games were subdivided into light and heavy, κοῦφος and βαρύς, having their particular type and fullest representatives in certain classes of men. Running, jumping, and throwing the spear were typically light games; boxing and the pankration were typically heavy. The pentathlon stood between both, and, uniting several kinds of games, had for its aim the production of a normally built agile man. Other subdivisions might thus be pointed out; but they tended in themselves to drive the artist towards the establishment of normal types for each part of the body and for the proportions of the parts. Thus even in the early period at the beginning of the fifth century, Ageladas of Argos, the teacher of Myron, Pheidias, and Polykleitos, wrote a treatise on the proportions of the human figure. Polykleitos of Argos and Lysippos established a canon of the human figure of which we hear that the one was square and massive, the other slimmer and lighter with smaller head. We must not lose sight of the fact that these canons of perfect human proportions were not at once represented in an Apollo or a Hermes, but that the Doryphoros and the Apoxyomenos are athletic statues. Those canons have been identified in these two extant statues, a marble copy of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos in the National Museum at Naples (Fig. 23, *b*), and a copy of the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. They both have the characteristics ascribed to these canons by ancient authors.

In such canons and ideal types we are raised above the individual to beings higher than man. Having been led by the palaestra down to man, the artist can now rise up to the god with a new ideal of divine form, for the human form that is above existing man in its perfection and still is possessed of human qualities brings the artist face to face with the figures of Greek mythology.

This influence which Greek athletic art, when once it was established in all its truth to nature and ideal breadth, exerted upon mythological art, is most clearly shown in extant monuments.

It is really only after the period of transition that the types of the various Greek gods as we know them become fixed and developed in art, and for a long time we can then trace the immediate influence of the palaestra in these statues of heroes and gods.

After Polykleitos had established his athletic canon, in all the works attributed to him and his school, whether athletes or gods, nay, even in female figures, we can see the characteristic proportions of the Doryphoros repeated. In later times, in the works of artists that are not the direct offshoots of his school we can often notice the influence of the athletic type of Polykleitos retained or even revived in the figure of some god or hero. No doubt some gods and some heroes are more adapted by their character to assume the form of such a canon. So it is especially gods like Ares and heroes like Herakles that from their nature are square and massive, and are thus properly represented in the form of the "quadrata signa" of Polykleitos. In the numerous mythological figures manifesting the Polykleitan canon that have come to my notice, there have been instances in which I at first thought they were athletes, and then found they were mythological figures; and some in which, for example, I thought the statue was a Herakles with the apple of the Hesperides strongly representative of the Polykleitan type, and then found that it was really an athlete with an oil-flask. This I mention merely to show you how through the establishment of these athletic canons the representation of mythological subjects was influenced. The same must be said of the influence of the Lysippean canon which can be traced in so many works, not only those immediately of his own school. As the Polykleitan canon, from the nature of its proportions, was best suited to the heavier and more muscular gods and heroes, so the Lysippean canon corresponded more to the lighter and fleeter gods. Nay, even as late as the last half of the first century B.C., in the school of Pasiteles, we can notice the influence of athletic art upon mythological art in the new eclectic canon which that artist and his school established, represented most fully in the statue of an athlete in the Villa Albani by Stephanos, the pupil of Pasiteles, and traceable in all the mythological statues of that school.

It is, however, not only in statues that this influence of athletic art upon mythological art becomes manifest. By far the most curious and interesting instances of this influence are to be found in the minor arts, especially in vases. I have collected a large number of such instances

on vases with athletic scenes. We find there how, following the normal course of the Greek mind not only in art but also in religion and literature, the Greeks construct their mythical and heroic conception upon the basis of real life. Thus their representations of real contests in the palaestra form the groundwork for the representations of similar scenes in the mythical and heroic world, as their religious idealism drove them to establish the ideal prototype for all actions of real life. When Pindar commemorates in an ode the victory of some living athlete, he generally begins or ends with some typical contest from the heroic world related to it. In the same way the vase-painter, when painting a prize vase or one decorated with athletic scenes[1] places a scene from the actual palaestra on the one side, and on the other some similar mythical scene, a religious type of the game. Prominent among such types are Theseus and the Minotaur, Herakles and Antaios, Herakles and the Nemean Lion or the Lernean Hydra, Peleus and Atalanta, contests of Trojan heroes, and many others. Now the form given to these mythical contests, to which I shall have occasion to draw your special attention, is the same as that in which the real scene is put, or rather presented itself to the artist while studying his art in the palaestra. So constant did I find this arrangement to be that it almost partook of the nature of a law and gave the observer the greatest gain of science, the power of prophecy[2]. I cannot resist relating to you an instance illustrative of this result. While studying the vases in the Louvre with the question of the influence of the palaestra before me, I mentioned to one of the officers who kindly assisted me in my work this result of my observation of athletic vases. "Do you mean to say," he inquired, "that, seeing the athletic side of a vase, you can tell what class of mythological scene will be on the other, or what class of mythological scene on the one will have an athletic subject on the other?" I answered that I believed I could tell what scenes would probably have such correlatives. "Let us see," he said. We proceeded to a room I had not yet examined, and, passing a glass case by the window which contained paterae and κύλικες, I noticed a κύλιξ, a drinking cup with the shape of a flattened bowl, so

[1] Except in the cases of Panathenaic prize vases, where one side always contains the conventional figure of Athene, like the Athenian coat-of-arms.

[2] It appears to me that the study of the destination of a vase is often of the greatest use for the interpretation of the vase painting. Thus a sepulchral vase, or one meant to be a gift between lovers, or a drinking cup, would be decorated with mythological scenes appropriate to its original purpose; and often a typical scene of mythology was modified to suit the character of the vase. See the paper on "Pythagoras of Rhegion," &c., No. I. in the present Appendix, page 337, note 4.

placed that the convex outside, ornamented by a broad border with numerous figures, was uppermost. The subjects represented on this border were scenes from the contests of Theseus and Herakles. "If there is any representation in the inside of this vase," I said, "it is most probably an athletic scene or figure." The case was unlocked, the vase taken out, and, when turned round, the centre contained a round medallion of yellow ground within the black patina of the vase, and, there being only room for one figure, it displayed a youthful athlete with halteres in his hand and a discus by his side, evidently a victor in the pentathlon.

So direct was the process by which the vase-painter transferred the scenes he actually saw and studied in the palaestra, that we can trace even in the details of the figures composing such a mythical scene their athletic origin.

The simplest and earliest form of an athletic scene is that shown in this diagram, copied from an archaic black-figured vase. In the centre we have the two combatants; on the one side we see a nude athlete in a peculiar attitude, with arms drawn up, recurring in almost all representations of this kind, the odd man in the game, the Ephedros, waiting his turn. On the other side there is an older bearded figure, draped with a mantle, and with a long staff in one hand, the Paidotribes or Agonothetes, the teacher or umpire. Now, in the mythical scenes the vase-painter places his heroic or divine combatants in the same way in the centre, and on either side he places divinities as judges, spectators, or protectors. The vase-painter takes the Paidotribes, draped and with long staff, simply alters the head of the bearded man to a female head, the staff to a spear, and sometimes adds indications of the Gorgoneion on the breast, and we have Athene. On the other side he retains the nude youth only, placing in one of his up-drawn hands a short caduceus, and we have Hermes. To revert once more to sculpture, we find that the central figure in the Aegina pediment, presiding, as it were, over the contest for the body of the fallen Patroklos, is the same Paidotribes-Athene that we meet with on these archaic vases. The habit of building up the scenes of mythical contests upon the actual scenes of the palaestra was so strong that sometimes the vase-painter forgets and betrays himself in mixing up in the same mythical scene athletic and mythical elements. This archaic vase-picture from an unpublished small Lekythos in the Louvre is an instance. The mythical combatants are here Theseus and the Minotaur; yet the vase-painter, unconscious of the absurdity, places on either side two real nude athletes in the attitude of ephedroi, as if awaiting their turn to enter a boxing match with the monster whose head is being cut

off by Theseus. Peaceful contests are directly translated into armed struggles. The metopes of the Parthenon and Theseion, the frieze of Phigalia, show innumerable instances in which Theseus and Herakles struggling with monsters, Lapith slaying Centaurs and Amazons are represented in the typical attitudes and actions belonging to the palaestra and studied there by the artist.

These observations are not restricted to statues and vases, but apply equally to the minor arts, such as that of the die-sinker and gem-engraver. Coins manifest, far more, I believe, than has until now been recognised, this immediate influence of the athletic games. Mr C. T. Newton and Mr R. S. Poole have shown how in the coins of Syracuse and Camarina even individual victories are recorded. I shall merely point to one instance (see fig. 23, *c*, *d*). This first coin of Selinus in Sicily, the date of which is about the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents the river-god Hypsas as a nude youth with a patera in the one hand and a short branch in the other. As I have once before endeavoured to show, the type of this figure, though reduced on a small coin, corresponds in proportions, modelling, and attitude to the Choiseul-Gouffier Pugilist whom I attribute to Pythagoras of Rhegion. About 430 B.C. (observe that the Polykleitan canon had come in) the same coin with the same river-god changes. As you see, the type, the proportion of the figure becomes squarer and more thick-set, the one leg is drawn back, the weight resting almost entirely upon the other (*uno crure ut insisterent* is the characteristic attitude ascribed by Pliny to the statues of Polykleitos), the branch is elongated and carried more like a spear—in short, the figure approaches most manifestly the type of the Doryphoros drawn on this diagram from the Naples statue.

If time permitted, I could bring before your notice instances to show in the same manner the influence of the athletic games upon the works of the other minor arts, such as gems and terra-cottas. Yet if we have shown it in the greater arts, this also demonstrates it for the lesser ones. For the minor arts of Greece, as has become evident from so many instances, took their types and models from the great works; often one and the same artist created both, and thus the influence detected in the one applies by implication to the other.

I hope that I have made you realise the important part played by the athletic games in the development of Greek art. It must, I believe, be recognised that those qualities which distinguish Greek art at its height, the combination of Nature and the Ideal, were given to it chiefly through the influence which the athletic institutions and their growth and development had upon the people at large and the artistic

world in particular. In all branches of science it has been found that while certain broad currents of influence in the formation and development of a growing organism could be perceived and traced during the earlier and simpler phases of its existence, or rather growth, this is more difficult, indeed hardly possible, when once the body, genus, or institution has reached the more complex and variegated forms of full organisation. All the conscientious observer can then do, is to record the parallelism and concomitance of the development in the two forms which before held the relation of influencing force and the thing influenced, showing a certain relation that exists between them or which they have in common to some other force, and, in many cases, leaving the question open which is the cause and which the effect.

So in the present case, after having found that the palaestra was efficient in bringing Greek art to its full development, we still have evidence of an intimate relation existing between art and athletics. Yet we cannot always say where exactly the influence lies, which is the institution influenced, and which is the one influencing. All we are bound to do is to record the parallelism in their development.

The broad lines which mark the development of athletic institutions are the same that characterise the development of Greek political and social life, Greek literature, religion, and art. In political and social life we have the undeveloped earlier forms of small communities leading in the great age to the Panhellenic unity in which all Greek states felt the common ties that united them and in so far submerged their own individuality. More and more this great and broad conception of state which animated the Greeks gives way to the growing assertion of the interests of individual states clashing with one another. Further, in the same state even, party feeling asserts itself in opposition to the state, and within the party again, the individual seeks his own good to the detriment of the party. Gradually, step by step, with here and there a short flickering up of the great spirit in a different form, the dissolution of Greek unity leads to the final destruction of Greek independence. With the decline of political grandeur, strength and virtue die in the social life of the Greeks. The old simplicity and greatness of character decay, and dissoluteness and vice more and more take root and undermine the moral strength of the people; for in no time and in no country were political and social ethics so dependent upon one another. In literature, especially in the history of the drama, we can notice the same step from the more conventional forms, traces of which are still to be noticed in Æschylus, to the more minute individualisation in Sophocles and Euripides, sensationalism already beginning in the latter.

Art was so complete an expression of Greek religion that in studying the development of art we can follow the course taken by religion. From the first stage, the conventional archaic art, we arrive through the period of transition to the great art of the Panhellenic period. The spirit of the religious art of this period is to be found not only in the character of the work, the style of the artistic schools, but also in the subjects represented. The great gods Zeus, Hera, Athene, Demeter, are the subjects most commonly represented by the artists, and when they do represent the other divinities they give them a severe, large, and noble character. Such is the case with the severe conception of Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos. After the great age, as in politics so in art, the step is made from the ideal down to the individual again, from god to man, from the type to the portrait of living individuals. At the same time in religious art, the great gods no longer form the chief subjects represented by the sculptor and painter; minor deities, nay, mythical personifications of lower nature, such as fauns, satyrs, maenads, are now represented by preference. In the gods again the most human side is emphasised; in Aphrodite and in Apollo, who is made younger and younger, the more sensuous and less divine side of their beauty is made prominent, until in Kephisodotos the younger, when the fourth century passes over into the third, sensuousness merges into sensuality. The grave and noble simplicity of the ancient religious art expires with the decline of religious faith in the gods and the dissolution of national greatness, and in the school of Pergamon and Rhodes the dramatic and sensational phase of sculpture prevails. In this period we pass from *genre* sculpture to the comic, the grotesque, and the brutal.

The palaestra follows the same course. In the first and earliest stages of the palaestra the athletic games are not completely organised; they have not yet established a character of their own, but are a class of religious institutions without the human life and interest which they gain when once they are brought down from gods to man. From having been religious, they must, in the great period of their development, which coincides with the great period of political and intellectual life, become a national institution. This step is made during the period called in the history of Greek art the period of transition. In the highest period of the palaestra this institution has a real national aim, to provide and encourage perfect physical education for the youths and men who are to form the strength of the nation. It is a noble aim, and, throughout, the character of the great games and of the palaestra is of the wide and lofty nature which stamps itself upon its artistic productions, and thus affects the spirit of art. The statues in honour of

athletic victors are broad, large and monumental in character, in subject, and in execution. An individual victory is not commemorated by the portrait-statue of the victor, but by a perfect type of that class of athlete and that game. It is that which lasts when the individual passes away, just as in the representation of gods during this period all that is ephemeral and individual in mortal life was avoided. So too, in the execution of the works, the transient and sensational is shunned. The attitudes are restful, however great the life and the suggestions of active vitality may be; there are no sensational momentary poses; the modelling is broad and large, without any of the tricks of craft and the display of technical skill which distinguish the later works.

In the next period marked in art by the growth of individualism and the gradual spread of sensuality, the palaestra is marked by the most pronounced individualism and the introduction and spread of professional athleticism. As the palaestra grows in importance, and as the rivalry between the various states grows hotter, the interest in the individual victor and his importance grow, and thus in the age of Alexander the Great and of the sculptor Lysippos, when in other spheres the feeling for personality ran higher, the custom is for the first time introduced of erecting portrait statues in honour of athletes who vanquished three times. Before this, it was considered sacrilege to place the portrait of living persons on public monuments, as is evident from the charge brought against Pheidias for having given his own likeness and that of Pericles to two Lapiths in the Amazon battle represented on the shield of the Athene Parthenos. When once this innovation is introduced, towards the close of the fourth century B.C., the public character of such monuments makes these portraits a bridge over into more ideal arts. It will readily be seen what influence this custom of athletic art must have had upon the arts of portrait-painting and portrait-sculpture, and how this directed the course of art towards realism.

This greater realism is also to be noticed in the attitudes and poses given to athlete statues, more momentary and less monumental than they were in the great age. The same causes which led to the growth of individualism effected the great change in the spirit of athletic institutions. While before they were a means to a great political and social end, they now become ends in themselves to which all other considerations become subservient. While before athletic exercise was a part of the daily occupation of the Greek youth, which was meant to contribute its share to the great end of making him a sound and normal being, harmoniously developed both in mind and body, and thus a serviceable citizen to his state, it now, step by step, becomes itself the great aim to which time, life, and

aspirations of the youth are devoted, and to which they are made subservient. It is the step recurring in the history of athletic games in all times, the step from the gentleman athlete to the professional athlete. In art we see the signs of the loss of proportion in such works which increase in the next period. We hear from ancient authorities how pugilists and pancratiasts were fattened up and made bulky, how muscular development was exaggerated even to ugliness. In the mythical figure most immediately influenced by athletic art, in Herakles, we see this in later instances, where the muscular development is abnormal and repulsive. The germs of the rapid decline of this great institution are to be found in the fungus growth of its own importance, growing till it obscured the great aim which gave it life and characterised its highest development. It leads to degeneration or, as the pathologist would more accurately term it, to hypertrophy. Let me only bring before you one interesting instance to illustrate this step towards professional athleticism. This coin of Amyntas III. of Macedon, who reigned from 389 to 369 B.C., representing a horse with its rider, is typical in one respect of all similar representations before the middle of the fourth century B.C., namely, in respect of the relation of rider and horse and of the corresponding importance of both in the minds of the people of that time. Like all representations of riders down to the middle of the fourth century, the rider is here large in comparison with the horse. If now we turn to this coin of Philip of Macedon, there is a striking difference in this respect, the horse being disproportionately large, while the rider has dwindled down to an undergrown jockey. The whole matter is explained by the fact that this coin of Philip represents his racer whom he sent to Olympia and who there came out the winner. Now, in the previous periods it was for the rider's sake that horse-racing existed, it was to show and encourage his skill in horsemanship, and he got the glory; there existed no jockeys. In the time of Philip the horse became the great centre of interest, and the gentleman rider and warrior of the Parthenon frieze is no longer to be found at Olympia. In the course of this natural or unnatural selection the horse too has altered its form, merely to excel in fleetness. It is curious to consider how similar the action of these "laws" has been in ancient and in modern times. Thus not only with the human form but even with animals the course taken by the athletic games in the later periods tended to destroy the ideal of form established, during the great age of Greek culture, by art through the earlier influence of the same institution.

In the last phases of the history of the palaestra we can distinguish three manifestations of the decline. Corresponding, first, to the dramatic

stage in the history of Greek sculpture which led to the groups of the Pergamene and Rhodian schools, we have sensationalism in the games, encouraging wonderful feats of abnormal strength or skill, and in athlete statues, dramatic attitudes, boxers with arms upraised, wrestlers leaning forward with arms extended, and a development of muscles that remind us more of the dissecting-room than of the artist's studio. Secondly, the brutality, of which we noticed the germs in the previous period, now manifests itself fully. Instead of the noble grandeur of a Doryphoros or a Choiseul-Gouffier Pugilist, we have fleshy monsters who would be comic if they were not repulsive. The drawing of this figure is from a terra-cotta in the possession of M. Camille Lecuyer at Paris, and represents a pugilist with arms upraised, whose bull-head reminds us so much of the Minotaur that we may fairly doubt whether it does not represent a bull-headed athlete or the Minotaur turned pugilist. Another telling instance of this class is a bronze in the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale of the same city. It represents a pancratiast thick and fleshy, with swollen face, arms upraised, in the act of kicking with his right heel. Such representations are inconceivable in the time of Pheidias.

The history of the Greek boxing-gloves, the ἱμάντες, typifies and illustrates the three chief phases in the history of the palaestra, from its height to its decline. The earliest forms were the μειλίχαι, which were to soften the blow to the striker and the one struck, and were thus subservient to the exercise. The second form was the ἱμὰς ὀξύς, a leather thong wound round the hand, protecting the hand of the striker, but increasing the severity of the blow. This belongs to the period when professional athleticism was beginning to be introduced. The third form, marking the period of decline, the Graeco-Roman and Roman age, was the brutal caestus, garnished with leaden balls, which produced disfiguring blows, sometimes leading to death.

As in the decline of Greek religious art, when practically the faith in the great gods was shaken, we have the introduction of *genre* and comic elements, such as putti or little cupids carrying the attributes of the gods, the thunderbolts of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, or the club of Herakles, so in the last stages of the palaestra, when its dignity had vanished along with that of the gods, we see the sacred games robbed of all solemnity and transposed into the comic *genre*, in the form of little cupids, undergoing athletic hardships in quaint mock solemnity and exertion. The diagram before you shows one out of a large number of late reliefs, with chubby children hurling the discus, boxing, wrestling, running, jumping, racing in chariots and on horseback. Here is one led

away after a defeat in the *pygme;* here another miniature Diadumenos fixes the victor's wreath to its brow; here are chariots colliding and crashing asunder, horse and driver overthrown, and so on—all scenes of the great palaestra made quaint and comical. Surely all solemn or religious associations must have left the games when once they could be represented in this form. Such representations, too, are utterly inconceivable in the age of Pheidias. The real death of all great institutions has set in when once the ridiculous side is brought out. The most notable instance of this is the final death-blow administered to chivalry by Cervantes in 'Don Quixote.' When once the Greek games are made the subjects of these comic scenes their end is reached, and they die with the extinction of Greek political freedom and the fall of Greek literature and art.

I have brought before you the influence of the Greek athletic institutions upon art in the effect they produced, leading the Greek artist to nature, and the ideal in the representation of man. This applies chiefly to the single figures in sculpture. There is one more great achievement of Greek art, in which it has supplied all ages with an artistic principle as fundamental as the ideal of the human form; and this again, I hold, is chiefly due to the influence which the athletic games had upon the development of Greek art.

The masterpieces of Greek painting have all been destroyed, and our information concerning them is derived from the numerous accounts of ancient authors, and from their feeble reflection in the works of the minor arts, such as mural and vase painting. Thus the common error is widespread that Greek painting was comparatively on a quite different scale of excellence to Greek sculpture. I have reason to hold that this is not so, and that, with the exception of landscape painting, the standard of Greek painting was comparatively as high as was that of their sculpture. However this may be, one fact remains, that they are the first to have established the fundamental principle of pictorial art, and that this was first done in athletic art.

This fundamental principle of pictorial art is expressed by the word *composition*. What constitutes a picture a work of art is the artistic organisation which the artist gives to the elements which he copies from nature. It is not merely a tree and a house and a man that make up a picture, but it is the combination of these elements into unity and harmony suggested and demanded by the feeling for and need of design inherent in the human mind. In our most complicated pictures we can distinguish the following elements of composition. First, linear composition, in which this unity is given by means of an outline to the whole

drawing which meets in some central point; secondly, perspective composition, in which the representation of distance from the point of vision enables the artist to indicate the foreground and background with regard to the centre of interest; and in the third place composition is given to a picture by light and shade, the gradation of values of colours and of tone which give the same artistic unity with variety. But all these forms have this in common, that they impress upon the eye of the spectator a central point of design and interest, and that the other parts of the work lead up to it, making of the whole an artistic organisation with unity or harmony of design.

In the paintings of the East and of Egypt we have long successions of figures tier above tier relating in an imperfect language a scene as we should relate it in a succession of sounds called words. In fact it is picture-writing which must be translated into a form of thought corresponding to words before it brings a real picture before the mind's eye. This is symbolical art, in which the artistic representation is a mere sign appealing to and stimulating the constructive imagination of the spectator to fashion an inner picture of his own making. It is not yet a work of real art which has its life and unity in itself, and attracts and holds the eye of the spectator at its most living point of interest.

This principle of composition was first carried out by the Greeks, when they left the sphere of symbolical picture-writing, and presented scenes with a real centre of interest and design. In the earliest works of Greek art, such as the Chest of Kypselos and the François vase, we have the oriental arrangement of tier upon tier of successive figures. It is in athletic vase-paintings like this black-figured archaic one that we have the first instances of composition. In the centre are the two boxers engaged, to the right and left are the Ephedros and the Paidotribes facing the centre. By their attitude as well as their action these two figures give a completeness to the scene, separate it from the outside, and drive the eye towards the real centre of action and interest. Unity, life, and variety are at once given to the whole scene. Unity in that the scene has a localised centre of interest towards which the other parts tend and lead; life in that each part contributes to the unity of the whole; variety in that there is a gradation of interest as we approach or leave the centre. In this simple and conventional form of work we have in embryo all the germs of the highest variety of composition. The attendant figures on either side represent the foreground and background to the central combatants, and we need but reach the perfection of technique in the acquisition of the laws of perspective, the power of

shading, and the gradation of tones of colours to carry this fundamental principle to its highest variety and expressive power.

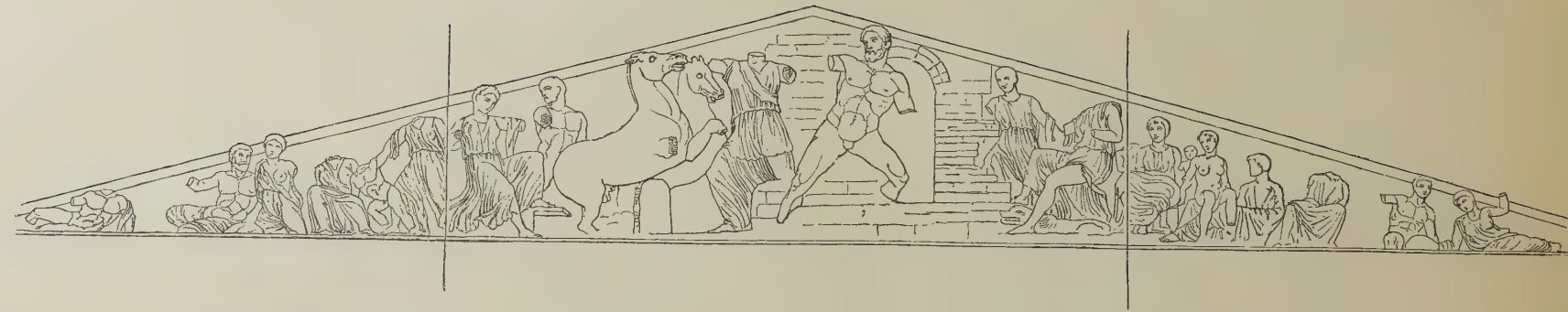
It was in the palaestra that the early painter had the centre of artistic interest impressed upon him by the combatants whose struggle engrossed the attention of all spectators, it was here that he had this rudimentary form of composition impressed upon his eye by the ever-recurring figures of the Ephedros and the Paidotribes standing on either side.

Yet not only by *a priori* probability is this statement supported. The monuments themselves, if carefully studied, give the weightiest evidence. In the first place, the earliest works of art do not give us this form of composition, it comes in with the athletic vases. Furthermore if we analyse the later vases, even those representing subjects most "unathletic" and of late complex forms, we can always trace this simple schematic form here given in the pugilists, the Ephedros and the Paidotribes. I have chosen these diagrams, serving to illustrate quite different lectures, at random. Here you have a scene representing the birth of Athene, here another relating to a tradition of Athene Ergane, and in all you have the two chief figures in the centre with standing figures on either side facing them. Sometimes the side figures are doubled, sometimes there is but one central figure in the middle, but the scheme remains the same. Here you have late vase-paintings with numerous figures free and bold in composition and execution, representing an Amazonomachia and a Gigantomachia, and all this large group resolves itself into smaller groups of the form of this early athletic vase. However complicated and perfect the composition of a late vase, the traces of this simplest form of pictorial composition will always be noticed, the fundamental principle of pictorial art which was impressed upon the eye of the artist through the athletic games of the Greeks.

What we owe to the Greek artists constitutes the principle of art even in our time; it is the combination of nature and the ideal in the human figure, and the principle of composition in pictorial art, both of which were developed in him chiefly through the influence of the athletic games, and this fact I hope to have made clear to you this evening.

From the nature of the subject dealt with in this address we have necessarily only noticed Greek art in its expression of the physical side of human life, leaving unobserved the spiritual side of their great works. There is an erroneous notion abroad, started by those who have but a superficial acquaintance with Greek art, that though the Greeks represented with perfection the physical side of beauty, they failed to render due justice to the spirit and the soul. If sufficient time were at my disposal, I believe that I could show you how erroneous is this notion. It

is true the Greeks avoided the expression of physical emotion in their statues when it led to grimace, yet their great statues are replete with the true soul of art. The soul of art does not depend upon the immediate expression of emotion in facial changes, any more than goodness with man depends upon the immediate act of charity in the most restricted sense. It may be a truer and greater act of charity to teach our pupils mathematics when pleasure calls us away, or to conform to the laws of good-breeding when our inclination and comfort drive us the other way, than to distribute a small share of our ready money to some beggar. The soul of art is not to be found in the immediate attempts at representing what we believe to be the outer manifestation of human souls; but in the unity and harmony of organisation given to a work through the design inherent in the creative artist's mind, the share of soul which the creating artist transfers from himself to the work of his hands, and above all in the complete and inseparable harmony that obtains between the subject represented and the material which embodies the idea. A marble angel of death bearing heavenwards in his arms a dead infant, with marble tears trickling down his cheek, suspended from the ceiling of a drawing-room by a silver cord, has less artistic soul than this Choiseul-Gouffier Pugilist; because in the athlete there is complete and inseparable harmony between the man represented and the artistic stuff that he is made of.



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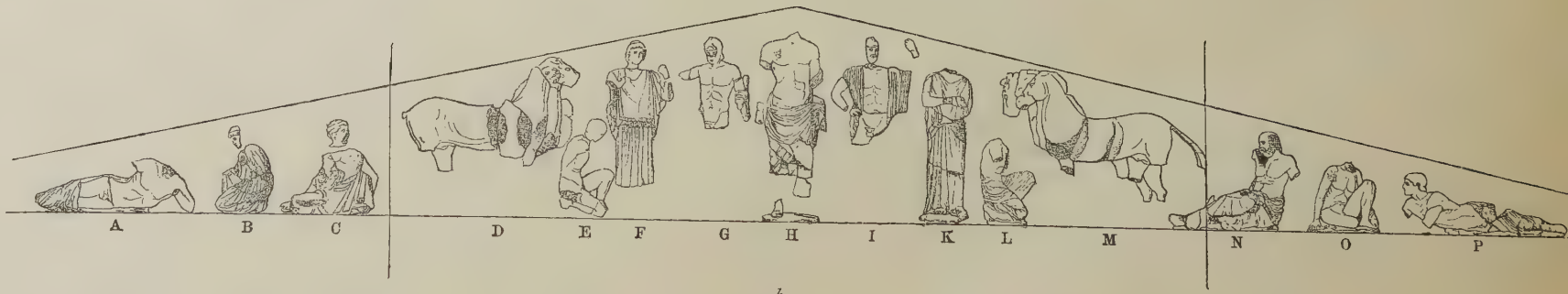

b

Fig. 25 *a*. The Western pediment of the Parthenon.
b. The Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

No. IV.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA AND THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

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An initial cause of opposition to the acceptance of the interpretation of the Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia here offered will no doubt lie in the fact that this proposed interpretation will, in some of the details, run counter to the direct statements of Pausanias. But though it is a dangerous proceeding in archaeology to discredit the direct statement of an ancient authority, there is one authority more conclusive than the statement of any ancient eye-witness, that is, the direct evidence of the remains themselves. When in addition to this we have reason to know that this particular writer was apt to be misled in the recognition of subjects of the very nature of those in question, and that his sources of information were often of the most illiterate and untrustworthy kind, we are then more than ever justified in turning, nay, called upon to turn, to the unbiassed study of the monuments themselves and their relation to all works of that class, with a view to the solution of the problem.

Every reader of Pausanias will soon notice that there was a certain bias in the mind of the traveller, a certain *tendenz* pervading the whole of his writings, modifying the character of his book, and sometimes the correctness of his statements. It might be called a religious, or rather mythographical, bias which arose in him in great part out of the spirit of his age (an age marked by the death-struggle of Greek paganism against rising Christianity), and which drove him to look for illustrations of myths and mythical personalities in every monument. He will never

lose an opportunity of recounting some out-of-the-way myth with a definite mention of names, and will often introduce them where no apparent opportunity was offered. The first thing he seems to look for upon entering a new town or sanctuary is some local mythical story which he recounts at great length with all the *on dits* of ignorant people, while he gives but short space to the description of facts which it would often be valuable to know. It is moreover most unfortunate that this credulous myth-seeker was most uncritical and indiscriminate with regard to the sources of his information. There is no doubt that a large number of the myths and traditions he recounts and of the interpretations he gives of the monuments with which he met in his travels, were gathered from the ignorant people he chanced to meet, more especially from the *ciceroni* who flocked about Delphi and Olympia, and obtruded their services upon the tourist with a persistency only equalled by their ignorance, and a corresponding readiness to invent facts and names where their knowledge was at fault. Luckily Pausanias often alludes to his source of information and to the fact that 'the ἐξηγητής said so,' and thus gives us fair warning to receive with some reservation the statement thus backed. This is so in the very tenth chapter of the fifth book in which he describes the Eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and ends up with the announcement that the Troizenians call the groom of Pelops who is represented in the pediment Sphairos, while the exegetes who is showing him about said he was called Killas.

But that he or his guide or both are not to be implicitly followed in the interpretation they give of the figures in the pediment, has become completely demonstrated by the results of the excavation. Pausanias enumerates and interprets the figures as follows: Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἡ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν ἀετόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἄτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἥλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἅρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δέ εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μέν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατάκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἠλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετά γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὅ τε ἡνίοχός ἐστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἱπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ ἀετὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς

ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἔφασγε Κίλλαν εἶναι.

There are thus twenty-one figures (including the horses) in the pediment. Zeus is in the centre, on his one side Pelops with Hippodameia, on the other Oinomaos with Sterope. Then follow on either side the charioteers (Myrtilos and Sphairos) crouching before the horses, then the four horses, then follow on either side two men, and then at the left corner the river Alpheios, at the corresponding right corner the river Kladeos.

The real uncertainty of interpretation for us attaches itself to the 'two men' between the river-gods and the horses, and this uncertainty was evidently also felt by Pausanias himself. In dealing with the first set of two he merely calls them two men; he then goes on to say that they have no names, and that their function was to take care of the horses of Oinomaos; the other two he simply calls grooms (ἱπποκόμοι) of Pelops. Considerable fragments, making the nature of each one of the figures enumerated by Pausanias intelligible, have been unearthed in the recent German excavations, and have made it possible to reconstruct the whole pedimental composition seen by Pausanias. The three principal restorations are those made by Treu[1], Curtius[2], and quite recently, by Kekulé[3].

These restorations differ only with regard to the distribution of the crouching figures. The one here reproduced (Fig. 2) is that of Curtius, chosen by the present writer because it conforms more to the laws of composition which, from analogous cases, appear to have prevailed in such works.

It seems more than unlikely that the four figures between river-gods and horses should be grooms. Despite Welcker's[4] ingenious explanation

[1] *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 174 *seq.*, Taf. 13; and 1882, pp. 217 *seq.*, Taf. 12. See also Boetticher, *Olympia, Das Fest und seine Stätte*, p. 285 *seq.*; and Overbeck, *Gesch. der Griech. Plastik* (3rd edit.), I. pp. 420 *seq.*

[2] *Die Funde von Olympia* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 71 *seq.*, Taf. VI. VII.; see also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 365; Mrs Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 262 *seq.*, Fig. 127.

[3] *Rheinisches Museum f. Philolog.* N. F. XXXIX. pp. 481 *seq.*, Taf. III. This has just come to my hand. Taf. III. contains outlines of the three restorations mentioned above. For earlier remarks on this pediment by other authors, see Urlichs, *Bemerkungen über den Olympischen Tempel*, &c. (Würzburg, 1877), pp. 20 *seq.*; G. Hirschfeld, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1877, pp. 309 *seq.*; Adler, *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, II. p. 16, Taf. XXXV.; Milchhoefer, *Im Neuen Reich*, 1877, pp. 206 *seq.*; Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 31.

[4] *Alte Denkmäler*, I. pp. 178 *seq.*

'that the artist was wise in throwing the chief figures into prominent relief by placing these unimportant personages instead of inferior deities at either side,' we cannot help feeling that this would be a very clumsy contrivance on the part of the artist for the purpose of filling up space, and that the introduction of such figures into such compositions is contrary to the custom of Greek art. Furthermore, it is evident that Pausanias and his guide did not examine the figures in the pediment very carefully, for one of the 'men' or 'grooms' turns out to be a woman. Another one of them, the bearded old man seated on the right side, can hardly be held to represent the type of the groom, nor have the modern writers on the subject, despite the statement of Pausanias, ventured to call him by that name. He generally goes by the name of 'The Pensive Old Man' (*Sinnender Greis*). But if we examine a large number of ancient monuments, especially later reliefs, we shall repeatedly come upon this type of an old man reclining in a contemplative attitude, watching the scene which he, sometimes in company with similar figures, serves to frame, and by their presence such figures fix the locality in which the scene takes place. The crouching male figure between him and the Kladeos again corresponds exactly in his attitude to the type of a youthful river-god, more especially to the fragment of the Ilissos crouching at the right side of the western pediment of the Parthenon. The same applies to the two figures on the other side. All the three figures at either angle are evidently not immediately concerned in the action which is preparing in the centre of the pediment. They are in the background, or, as I should like to say, they are the background, and belong to a different sphere of beings from the figures in the centre. The figures in the centre are of one class; and the figures at the angles, separated from them by the horses, are of another. What the nature of the latter group of figures is, is clearly indicated by the river-gods Kladeos and Alpheios at the end of either side; they are personifications of the localities in which the scene takes place.

But to feel thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this interpretation one must needs have examined from this point of view a large number of later monuments, especially reliefs, bearing the evident traces of the earlier pedimental compositions, and the eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon, and must compare these pediments with them. One then comes to recognise a whole system of mythological composition; and of this recognition our interpretation of the figures of the angle of the Olympia pediment is but a necessary consequence.

I must refer the reader to the treatment of this subject in the

fourth and fifth Essays in the present volume. I have there dwelt upon the principles of Greek pedimental composition, which may be briefly summarised as follows:

The customary method in which the sculptor represented a mythological scene, especially in pediments, was for him to follow in the broader mode of arranging his composition the general constructive indications of the space assigned to him for his composition. In the case of a pediment this space is a triangle with the highest and most important point in the centre. The height and importance of this space are not, as in the case of a frieze, the same throughout, but grow gradually towards the centre as the sides rise from either angle at the base, and diminish gradually as the sides descend from the centre to either angle. The effective narration of any story by means of a plastic composition demands that there should be a visible unity in the composition with a culminating point of interest, otherwise we shall have monotony and diffusion. The sculptor thus follows the simple suggestion of the construction of the pediment in placing the most important and central part of the scene depicted in the highest central point of the pediment, the parts most essential to the central action on either side nearest the centre, and the figures lose in their importance in the central action the more they approach either angle. Or, beginning at either angle, the figures by their nature and action will manifest less interest and participation in the central scene at the beginning of the composition, and these will grow as the pediment rises until we approach the central climax. In the best of these compositions a further element of variety is introduced in that the whole scene as represented is subdivided into different phases or groups, without robbing the whole of its unity. This subdivision would correspond to the foreground or the background. It is generally indicated by the line between the reclining and the erect figures, and by a corresponding distinction in the nature and meaning of the figures and their relation to the central action. The figures forming the central scene, generally in erect attitudes of action, form the one group of beings belonging to a definite sphere, and are distinctly separated from the other figures seated or reclining in contemplative attitudes, generally manifesting the greater interest in the scene the nearer the place assigned to them is to the centre. The proportion of space assigned to each one of these classes is about the same in the pediments of the Parthenon and this eastern pediment of Olympia. In the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia was represented the Centauromachia; and this subject led the sculptor to give

greater space to the scene of actual conflict, while but a small space is assigned to the local nymphs.

The class of figures on either side of the centre, distinct from the immediate participators in the action, I maintain to be traditionally personifications of nature and localities in which the scene is supposed to have taken place. To Brunn belongs the great merit of having first ventured to maintain that the figures filling the sides of the western pediment of the Parthenon up to the Nike and Amphitrite driving the chariots (where the lines are drawn in Fig. 25 *a*), are personifications of Attic localities; and though I cannot subscribe to the definite interpretation of the individual figures, the principle as evinced in the interpretation as a whole I have found confirmed by the examination of all similar monuments. In the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (representing the birth of Athene, Fig. 5), where, I maintain, the centre was occupied by Athene and Zeus and the admiring gods, and the seated and reclining figures now extant were personifications of nature like Helios and Selene at the extreme angles, an intermediary figure (the messengers Iris and, probably, Hermes) was introduced between the two larger classes on either side. These erect figures show by their action towards the figures in the angles that, though erect and of the nature of the gods in the centre, they also hold some relation to the figures of the other sphere; they form a transition from one group to the other, and by the fact that they convey the news of the central scene to the seated figures at the angles they clearly indicate that the two classes of figures belong to different spheres.

In the western pediment of the Parthenon the transition is more abrupt. The lines drawn in our illustration show this marked division. Beginning from these lines the figures are all turned towards the centre; both by action and composition it is made manifest that they are immediately concerned in the central event (the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic land). The figures on the other side of the line, however, all belong to the same sphere, which differs from that of the central figures; and their nature is made clear by the character of the two figures nearest either angle, which is beyond dispute. It is admitted by all that in the left angle there is Kephissos with a nymph (now missing) as in the right angle there is a nymph with Ilissos. The other figures up to the lines are personifications of the same nature.

If we compare the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with this western pediment of the Parthenon, we realise a thorough correspondence in the general composition and arrangement

of the groups which calls for a similar interpretation of the figures at the sides.

In both pediments the horses with their drivers complete the central group containing the action. In the Olympia pediment the horses form a more intrinsic part of the central scene, inasmuch as the moment represented is that of preparation for a mythical chariot race, while in the Parthenon pediment they are mere accessories to the acting figures, Athene and Poseidon; and they here serve to indicate the fact that the judgment confirming the supremacy of Athene has been passed and that the gods will in the next moment retire from the Attic locality where they have performed their miraculous deed. Thus in the Olympia pediment the horses stand at rest awaiting the beginning of the race, and those who will mount the chariots (the most important element of the scene), Pelops and Oinomaos and their charioteers, are placed together near the centre and in front of the horses; while in the Parthenon pediment it is clearly indicated that the horses have just arrived in that they are vigorously advancing, Athene and Poseidon form the really prominent centre, and Nike and Amphitrite are separated from them and are behind the horses. In the Parthenon pediment the centre ends with the figures driving the horses, in the Olympia pediment with the horses themselves. The figures after the horses in the Olympia pediment hold no further immediate relation to them. Even though in Treu's restoration the crouching figure placed by Curtius in front of the horses on the right is placed behind the horses on the left, and might thus be restored as holding the reins, the corresponding old man on the right in a contemplative attitude with his hand to his chin can in no way be considered to fulfil any definite function with regard to the horses, and the symmetry pervading the whole of this composition would demand that there should be no essential difference between the corresponding figures on either side. I cannot refrain from remarking that, as far as symmetrical composition is concerned, the restoration of Curtius has far more in its favour than either of the two other restorations; for the seated and draped old man on the right, occupying a comparatively wide space, is well balanced on the other side by the seated and draped figure which of all the remaining figures possesses to the highest degree these characteristics; and the monotony of line in the direction of their feet is counterbalanced to a certain degree by the fact that the one is looking forward, the other turning backwards, and still both are turned towards the centre. In Curtius's restoration the next two crouching figures towards the angle are turned away from the centre, until at either end the

river-gods have a decided movement towards them and towards the centre.

In the Parthenon pediment there are seven figures in the angles at either side, in the Olympia pediment there are only three; yet even here there is the most striking resemblance of composition. Beginning at the right angle the reclining Kladeos with the crouching youth correspond in composition to the reclining nymph with the Ilissos in the Parthenon pediment; the larger profile lines of the seated old man correspond to the lines of the only figure seated in profile in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated female figure with the nude girl in her lap on the same side of the pediment. At the other angle of the pediment we have the reclining Alpheios whose similarity to the Kephissos has been universally remarked; the figure corresponding to the crouching girl is wanting in the Parthenon pediment, yet the seated half-draped figure next to it and turned towards the centre is in composition most strikingly like the next figure in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated and draped male figure looking towards the centre.

Both in the general arrangement of composition, the chief acting figures in the centre, bounded on either side by the horses and their drivers, with the personifications of the locality in either angle, as well as in the details of the seated figures, the correspondence of these two pediments is so great that we are driven to acknowledge an immediate relation between these two pediments. Whether the older artist Paionios on his way from the north to Olympia saw and studied the Parthenon pediments without for all that being able to produce in any way the superiority of the modelling; or whether, as is now maintained by Loeschcke[1], Pheidias was at Olympia before the completion of the Parthenon, and was there influenced by the composition of the North-Grecian artist, I do not venture to decide. I am only concerned with establishing this strong inter-relation.

I must not omit to remark that Treu, in his first paper[2], pointed to the resemblance between the crouching figure on the right of the Olympian pediment and the Ilissos, as well as between the seated figures on the left in both pediments and the general arrangement of the composition. Furthermore, Curtius has gone so far as to consider the figure beside each one of the river-gods to be personifications of localities. But the interpretation here proffered for all the figures not forming the centre of the scene is the result of a comparative study of

[1] *Phidias Tod, und Chronologie des Olympischen Zeus; Historische Untersuchung.*
[2] *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 179.

pedimental compositions in general, more especially in connexion with the Parthenon pediments, and the question must thus be viewed as a whole in order to discover its true bearing. To Brunn will ever remain the great merit of having broken ground in the right direction with the general spirit of his interpretation of the western pediment of the Parthenon.

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